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McGraw-Hill Series in Education

HAROLD BENJAMIN, *Consulting Editor*

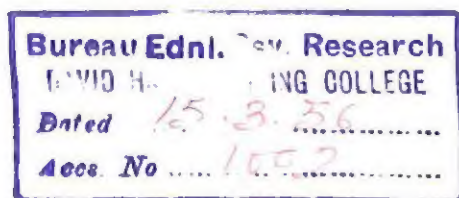
INTERGROUP EDUCATION

McGraw-Hill Series in Education

HAROLD BENJAMIN, *Consulting Editor*

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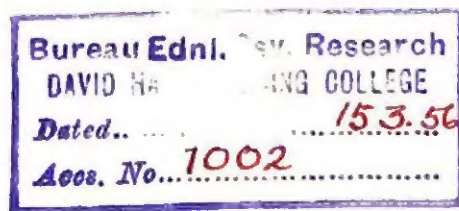
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INTERGROUP EDUCATION

LLOYD and ELAINE COOK

*College of Education
Wayne University, Detroit*



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1954

INTERGROUP EDUCATION

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C D O

Dedicated to

JOHN W. DAVIS, *President*
West Virginia State College
Institute, W. Va.

and

Father GEORGE B. FORD, Rector
Corpus Christi Church
New York City

Men whose life and teaching have exemplified
for a half century or more
the ideals expressed in
the ancient Jewish text—

*To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk
humbly before thy God*
—Micah

Preface

Intergroup education is quite new. No one has as yet traced its history in any precise way. In one sense, it had its origins long, long ago, in the nation's good-will work with immigrant and racial groups. It is related, doubtless, to Americanization classes, especially in the era of World War I. It was about then, mostly afterward, that intercultural education began to flourish, and this is the immediate parent of intergroup work. We use these two terms interchangeably, though they are not synonyms, and the word *intergroup* is preferred. It is rapidly winning recognition as a more definitive term.

What educators want to know is what intergroup education is, why it is needed, its goals, methods, and results. They want to know how it can be made part of teacher education, structured into the curriculum. These are the general aims of this college textbook. During years of teaching and of consultant work, we have become acquainted with this field. Our purpose here, to repeat, has been to organize experience and research into a logical and teachable course of study, to do the little we can toward shaping up this important area for regular teacher-training use.

Part One of the volume states a point of view and gives a brief glimpse of majority and minority relations. Part Two analyzes and interprets a wide range of more or less current studies of prejudice and discrimination. Materials are presented mostly as cases, with enough detail to make them meaningful. Chapters are ordered by age levels, from early childhood through school and college to the adult community. The idea of ongoing acculturation (or socialization) is used to tie together these successive units, though time spent on the concept per se is slight.

Part Three brings us to the heart of the matter, the problem of liberalizing attitudes and actions, of deepening skills and insights—in sum, of changing people in democratic directions by educational means. Chapters in this section survey change methods, state a

theory of human-rights education, and then develop several school and college teaching patterns. The final unit here is on international education, our feeling being that intergroupers should come to see this as one of their primary concerns.

Part Four concludes the volume with a review and projection of further training for students who want to go ahead. While intergroup work is professionalizing rapidly, it will be years before college, agency, and other teachers are fully trained for the tasks they are now called upon to do. It is in this further training that university centers of human relations should play a most important role.

This book is addressed to students and their teachers. We have tried to keep our writing clean on issues that matter, to make it as clear and as exciting as we can. While the book is elementary, students may at times have to reach up for an idea, for it is wrong to think that all ideas can be put simply.

For assistance in teaching units, for testing learnings and advising us, we are grateful to a number of professors and students. For the opportunity to work in the College Study, a national project in intergroup education, we are indebted to the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education (Karl W. Bigelow, chairman) of the American Council on Education, and to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, financial sponsors. To Temple Beth El and to Wayne University, the first-named author is deeply appreciative for appointment to the Leo M. Franklin Chair of Human Relations for 1950-1951, a position that helped us to get on with this book.

If one's friends make him rich, we have stored up modest wealth among intergroup educators, as has every teacher in his field. We want to keep these friends and to make new ones. That is our personal hope for these chapters.

Lloyd A. Cook
Elaine F. Cook

Acknowledgments

To the publishers listed, we are indebted to the point where ordinary courtesy requires formal acknowledgment. It is a pleasure to record this very inadequate expression of our appreciation to them.

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We want to make special mention of the American Council on Education. With Council consent, we have felt free to use several tables and cases from our two-volume report on the College Study project. The late George F. Zook, then the ACE president, wrote in his Foreword to Volume I that he hoped these pictures of going college programs, each written by its own local chairman, would "stimulate *all* institutions engaged in teacher preparation to undertake *extensive* activities" in the intergroup field. In writing this present book, we have kept a promise made to him. He asked that we prepare a college textbook, one addressed to students and teachers at all educational levels.

Contents

PREFACE	ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xi

PART I FIRST PERSPECTIVES

1. INTERGROUP EDUCATION, A POINT OF VIEW	3
The Case Study Approach. Criticisms and Concerns. Group Cleavages, Major Foci. Majority and Minority Groups. Concept of Social Tension. The Problem of Change Action. Education Takes Time. A Statement of Goals. College Leadership Role. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
2. MINORITIES IN LIGHT OF HISTORY.	18
Fissures in Our Common Life. Negroes and Whites. Mexican, Spanish, and Anglo. American Indians and Whites. European Immigrant Peoples. Chinese, Japanese, and War. Jewish-Gentile Relations. Catholics and Protestants. Freedom, Unity, and Justice. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	

PART II UNDERSTANDING PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

3. GROUP RELATIONS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD.	43
Prejudice and Discrimination. Negro Experiences with Whites. Skin Color and Status Values. Philadelphia Early Childhood Study. Child Acculturation. Learning Prejudices. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
4. TEEN-AGE LEARNINGS AND EXPERIENCES.	62
Attitudes toward Jews. Social Class Influences. Inter-ethnic Relations. Anglo-Mexican Conflict. Second-generation Problems. Adolescence, a General Picture. Youth Socialization. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
5. COLLEGE CAMPUS, VIEWS AND VALUES	85
College Admissions. Attitudes and Backgrounds. Religion and Prejudice. Campus Opinion Polls. Social-distance Surveys. Education	

Majors, College Study Data. College-faculty Views. Assimilation to Campus Culture. Choice of Growth Lines. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
6. PROBLEMS OF MINORITY YOUTH	107
Life History of a Marginal Man. Concept of Marginality. Person and Group. What to Teach Children? Group Conflict and Role Transfer. Intermarriage. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
7. ADULT COMMUNITY, CASTE AND CLASS	136
Theories of Society. Caste-Class, a Case Study. Ways of Stratifying a Population. Criticisms and Suggestions. The Caste-Class Hypothesis. Classes as Modes of Life. Social Change and Disunity. Area Unity, Value Sharing. Power and Its Uses. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
PART III IMPROVING INTERGROUP EDUCATION	
8. CHANGING PEOPLE, A STUDY OF METHODS	161
The Change Problem. Change Methods, a Perspective. Legislation. Contact and Acquaintance. Mass Media. Public Ceremonials. Work Experiences. Schooling. Individual Therapy. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
9. A THEORY OF HUMAN-RIGHTS TEACHING	185
Declarations of Human Rights. Rights and Related Concepts. Application, Test Cases. Rights, Duties, and Law. Rights as a Basis of Policy. Extensions of Democracy. Choices and Implications. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
10. ACADEMIC APPROACH TO LEARNING	205
Public School Cases. A Value Conflict Unit. Academic Education, General. School and College Textbooks. Problem of Course Emphasis. Does Knowledge Change Behavior? Ethnic IQ, IQ Testing. Other Forms of Testing. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
11. GROUP-PROCESS EDUCATION.	229
School Cases, Some Examples. A College Case, the Campus. Group-process Teaching, General. The Teacher-Leader Role. Projects and Problems. Selected Readings.	
12. AREA STUDY-ACTION AS TEACHING METHOD	249
Grade School Cases. The Flow-of-life Idea. Area Trips and Surveys. Nature of Community Education. Teaching about Religions. Under-	

standing Good-will and Civil-rights Groups. Cooperation and Conflict. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

13. EDUCATING VIA VICARIOUS EXPERIENCE 276

Cases, School Incidents. College Uses of Fiction. Vicarious Experiencing. School Use of Mass Media. Meeting Antiminority Remarks. Intergroup Humor. Minorities and Censorship. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

14. TEACHING WORLD UNITY TO YOUTH 306

Starting Observations. Alone or Together? Some Puzzles to Solve. National Character. Some School Activities. UNESCO, a World Resource. What Do Our Dollars Buy? Foreign Students in the United States. Exchange-of-persons Program. A Just Immigration Policy. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

PART IV RETROSPECT AND OUTLOOK

15. IN REVIEW—THE EDUCATOR'S ROLE 337

Intergroup Education. The Teacher-Leader Role. Some Leader Types. Teacher-Leader Functions. Values and Science. The Teacher as a Moderate. Pro-minority or in the Public Interest? Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

16. LOOKING AHEAD IN INTERGROUP WORK 360

Workshops and Laboratories. Centers of Human Relations. In-service "School Problems" Courses. In-service Experimental Projects. Understanding Parental Practices. The Community Self-survey. Ways of Making Group Discussion Work. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

INDEX 385

PART ONE

First Perspectives

CHAPTER 1

Intergroup Education, a Point of View

Our most urgent business, next to achieving world peace and justice, is to understand prejudice, to remove discrimination, to promote mutual understanding, and to develop leaders in this work.

—HAROLD C. CASE

Let us begin with a trend, a process that is clear. This is the growth of school and college interest in human relations, especially in the areas of race, creed, and national origins. Anyone can document this trend, assess its reality, its depth and spread. While it is not confined to educational institutions and, in fact, permeates all departments of our society, schools and colleges are well up front in the nation's mounting concern. In general, their concern is with fact finding and change making, the kinds of changes in human relations which center on equal-rights values, a fair break for everyone. This is the field of *intergroup education*, the subject of this textbook.

It is the purpose of this volume to explore the above field, to organize it for college teacher-training use. Writing is addressed to preservice and inservice teachers, yet it should prove of interest to an even larger audience, to anyone who is making an educational approach to majority and minority relations, to racial and other prejudices, to conflict resolution via cooperative study-action. In Part One, our concern is with first perspectives. One of these is field definition, the question of what intergroup education is. Another, the content of Chapter 2, deals with our historic past, the treatment of minorities as our nation has taken shape. Let us begin where students usually start their thought, namely, with their memories and experiences.

THE CASE-STUDY APPROACH

Once a class assembles, a course gets oriented, students like to talk. What contacts across racial, creedal, and nationality lines have they had? What experiences have been important, what has puzzled them? Incidents, queries, and the like need not be long or novel or complex. They must be true to life, raise issues which should be solved. Given this sort of green light, a college group will talk about things, past and present, that members know about, that have happened to them.

Student Experiences

Sample Incidents, Current Events

1. On the way to class this morning, I saw a little white boy fall down and a Negro boy pick him up. Do very young children have prejudices? Why are they taught to them?

2. I was standing in this packed streetcar when a white man said, "If we were in the South, no damned nigger would take our seats." We were both straphanging, and I saw that he was edging closer to a Negro girl who sat on the aisle. As I watched him, he nudged her leg with his knee. When he did this again, she asked him to stop. He grinned and let his hand drop on her shoulder. She opened her purse, got out something, and lunged at his leg. "Cut me," he said, backing off. Isn't this the way race riots start, just some incident like that?

3. I am a Catholic, but I have always gone to public schools. Why do Catholics oppose public education? Do the Jews also have their own schools? Or do Catholics really oppose public education? Explain this.

4. Here, at summer school, we have a long waiting line, students waiting to get into the cafeteria. Well, this is what I see all the time. Some Spanish-American student will call to a Spanish-American friend up front, who will then take him into the line. I am Spanish, and I spoke to our club about this. Students said they were line-jumping because the Anglos did it first, that they should be the first to stop. We had an argument and they asked me which side I was on. When I said I was for fair play, they told me to go and join the Anglo group.

5. Why is there so much fuss just now about this McCarran immigration law? Is this connected with our efforts to keep communism out of the United States?

Childhood Memories, Present Reactions

1. In the third grade, I think it was, we had to recite poems, any poem we wanted to recite. I remember two of these.

Little Indian, Sioux or Crow
Little frosty Eskimo
Little Turk or Japanee
Don't you wish that you were me?

The other one was:

Eenie, meenie, minie, mo
Caught a nigger by the toe
If he hollers, let him go
Eenie, meenie, minie, mo.

Now, I want to ask about these. Isn't this name calling and isn't that hurtful to people? I've been to Korea and around, and everywhere this goes on. Gook, goon, wogs, nigger, wop, sheenie, kike, and so on. Why is it done? Does it show how people really feel?

School and College Happenings

1. I was doing practice teaching, teaching numbers, when we came to the number 13. I said this was a very important number to Jewish boys, and a little Gentile girl asked why. The Jewish girls laughed and the boys looked very embarrassed. Should I have explained about *bar mizvah*, or should we Jews keep our customs to ourselves?

2. For years, I have avoided the things that stereotype us as Negroes. This summer, at the university cafeteria, I walked past big slices of watermelon rather than load one on my tray and walk through that crowd! So with gay colors in clothes, which I love, and so with old-time spirituals. Have I been right in this, or should each of us just try to be himself?

3. We have this big annual school fair at which the whole town turns out. It is a "one world" or "world unity" event, with folk customs, folk dances, foods, etc. Our school is all for it, yet I am bothered. Won't we come to think of Mexicans as Mexicans, Greeks as Greeks, and so on, instead of as Americans? Are we promoting a divisive point of view, or is this cultural pluralism, whatever that is?

Exchange of experiences and reactions will go on and on in a college class if the atmosphere is kept permissive, if students see that what they say is treated with respect. Viewpoints are, of course, miles apart, and we have felt it best to leave them that way. Changes will come, if they come, as knowledge builds up. The point now is to develop the habit of frank talk.

Concrete cases start talk going. To an extent, they get students acquainted, get values shared. They prove nothing, except that this or that did happen, this or that issue came to mind. Science rests on other foundations, in part on logical thought. Let us begin now to think of what intergroup education is, to see if we can define it.

CRITICISMS AND CONCERNS

Popular writings, including most books and articles for teachers, do not offer us much help. They are, in the main, a good-will literature, an exhortation to do something, to act up, speak up, *now!* Beyond these admonitions, writers show a firm grip on the obvious. At times, they cite cases where, by their own say-so, a good job was done. What one misses are the facts on which conclusions are based, the evidence. Or writers may formulate rules of action, neat little kitchen hints read out of their own autobiographies. We shall, no doubt, be guilty in this book on both counts, so that we are not inclined to take any superior attitude. It will take time and study to do high-grade work.

Technical writings are, of course, much better, yet they are not above criticism. Hager,¹ to illustrate, claims that intergroup educators have "produced a type of writing that, with few exceptions, contains little to attract the serious student of human affairs." Authors proceed with "complete disregard for knowledge about American society." They "do not understand scientific method," how to use it, the contributions it can make. They rate high in good intentions and low in almost everything else. They are, withal, a rather ignorant do-good lot. They utter a stream of shattering platitudes.

Tastes differ, to be sure, yet we have never felt this way about the educators, the sociologists and psychologists, whom we have known best. Maybe that is because we have strayed too far from the academic hilltop, failed too often at some simple "action" task. While we hold no brief for ignorance, especially on our own part, good doing has proved hard to do. We shall return to this issue of action later on, pick it up where it fits in.

¹ Don Hager, "Some Observations on the Relation between Social Science and Intergroup Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 23: 288-290, 1950.

GROUP CLEAVAGES, MAJOR FOCI

To define a field of study is, first, to locate its center, after which other things can be added. This is in part a matter of scientific fact, in part a matter of judgment. What are the deepest group cleavages in American life, fissures in the body politic where great inequalities exist? In still other words, where is democracy undergoing the most severe test? To us, it would seem that the areas already named—race, creed, national cultures—will surely qualify.

In 1939, for example, the *Fortune* opinion poll asked a national sample of Americans the question: "Is there any one group—racial, religious, economic, social, or other—in your city (or county) who represent an important problem to the community?" Of the 5,108 persons interviewed, 59 per cent said no, 22.5 per cent yes, and 18.5 per cent did not know or gave no answer. When the yes respondents were asked to name the most problematic group, all sections of the country except two (Mountain and Pacific states) said the Negro. Jews were considered a major problem in some regions, Mexicans in other regions. Nationality groups, such as Italian, were named in several urban areas along with foreigners, Catholics, relief cases, the unemployed, and Communists.

In addition to race, creed, and national origins, what other group relations should be included? Communists? Labor and management? Rural and urban dwellers? Women as a minority? The sick, the handicapped? Obviously, almost every kind of current social problem can be pulled into intergroup education, if the term is used in a literal sense. For practical reasons, as well as theoretical, some limits must be set. International relations, including relations between the United States and the USSR, we would not exclude. Aside from their tremendous importance, intergroup theory fits international relations as well as it fits our domestic relations. Otherwise, we suggest the limitations indicated in Fig. 1.

By "race" in Fig. 1 is meant a breed of people, a biological stock whose physical traits differentiate it from other stocks. These traits become, as a rule, a basis of human relations. "Creed" means religious groupings, notably Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. "National origins" refers to immigrant peoples, along with their cultural heritages and ingroup bonds. These are the major variables in

the intergroup picture as we see it, with time, place, and social class the principal dependent variables, cutting through them.

Time points to history, the backgrounds of the American people. Place is geography, your local community and mine, your state, region, our nation, the world at large. What we mean to say is that *intragroup* and *intergroup* relations should be studied with timetable and map in hand. To these dimensions, we have added another, that of social class. While there is much debate as to the exact meaning of this term, it is widely defined as a "system of overlapping status levels, a hierarchical social order."² Students

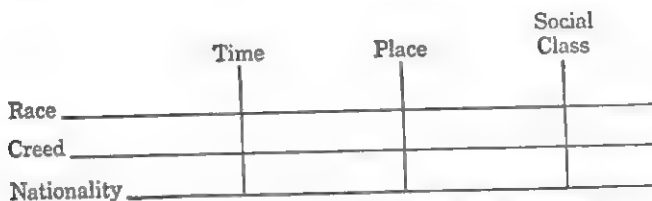


FIG. 1. A conception of intergroup relations.

will grasp the idea if we speak simply of upper-, middle-, and lower-class levels.

It should be stated here that creed is not acceptable to all writers on intergroup relations. MacIver,³ for instance, excludes creed on the ground of overlap with race and/or nationality. He does not believe that, in itself, religion (church doctrine) creates significant group cleavages, though he is not inclined to deny its importance in social life. Other sociologists take the opposite view, a view we believe to be growing, so that creed will figure in these pages so far as research and experience permit.

What our diagram does not do is to call attention to two implicit educational concerns. One is intragroup relations, the other the broad field of individual personality development. These should be read into the figure if we are to designate correctly the trend of school and college work and thought.

MAJORITY AND MINORITY GROUPS

What Fig. 1 represents, after a fashion, is a field of forces, people in motion, people interacting. The case incidents given earlier

² A definitive review is H. W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58: 391-418, 1953.

³ R. M. MacIver, *The More Perfect Union*, p. 3, Macmillan, 1949.

illustrate this. While there are several ways of naming this vast pattern, our preference is to label it "majority and minority relations."

One may be tempted at first to define these concepts in terms of head count, the majority being over half a population but less than all. *Numbers* are significant, yet they do not identify a sociological majority. In South Africa, to illustrate, natives outnumber whites many times, yet whites would be called the majority group, the natives a minority. So in many local communities of our nation where white native-born Protestants or Protestant-inclined are outnumbered by their opposites. From a national standpoint, the former are the majority population.

If numbers alone are not enough to define majority and minority groupings, what other criteria are needed? "The mere fact," write the Roses,⁴ "of being generally hated because of religious, racial, or national backgrounds is what defines a minority group." It strikes us that hatred is too strong a word, that feelings have a wide range. Moreover, where hate does exist, it tends to beget hate. With Group A hating Group B and Group B reciprocating, hatred does not define either group. This is not to deny that hate, fear, and so on, are prime factors in intergroup relations.

Within every minority, say, Negro Americans, Jewish Americans, Catholic Americans, Irish-Americans, and Spanish-Americans, there is a tendency toward *ingroupness*. This means some sharing of values, in truth, a great deal of sharing. Each minority comes to have a consciousness of kind, a measurable common unity, and to educate its young in these faiths and forms, codes and norms. This is *ingroupness*, a feeling of oneness, and it is developed in part as a reaction to outgroups, the people who are regarded as not belonging, as different. It should be added that ingroups and outgroups are parts of the same organic whole, the one implying the other.

What has just been said could be read as embracing three points of crucial importance, but it is best to make them very explicit. One is a *status difference*, with minorities in general lower-status people, less prestigious groups. The second is a *power differential*, with majorities having by far the greater power of decision making. These two factors imply a third, the *life chances of individuals*. Everywhere, majorities are likely to be the gatekeepers of cultural

⁴ Arnold and Caroline Rose, *America Divided*, p. 3, Knopf, 1949.

opportunities, opening and closing doors. In many places, they clearly hold the key to health and housing, to jobs, schooling, political office, and the like. This is really the functional significance of the majority-minority dichotomy, the point most meaningful to educators.

CONCEPT OF SOCIAL TENSION

Another point in field definition is too important to pass over without comment. It has been said that intergroup education is simply "good education" in human relations, as indeed it is. Yet it differs from various other human-relations areas because of our extreme touchiness about it. It is this ever-present fact of *tension* that sets the climate for much intergroup work, that determines to an extent one's choice of study-action goals and procedures.

The root meaning of tension is, as Angell⁵ notes, "a kind of physical tightening," say the contraction of muscles. In organic life, this suggests a readiness for action, a tendency to strike out, to maintain equilibrium. In group relations, the concept indicates the struggle tensed persons have to control their emotions, to avoid aggressive action. Angell puts all of this well in a comment on a UNESCO "tensions project": "A social tension, in ordinary parlance, implies two things: first, a relation between persons or groups that is taut, that threatens to rupture; and second, attitudes on the part of the persons or groups that are hostile."

Whatever this relationship is, a break in it is a deprivation for one or more parties. This is the main reason why change, or threat of change, arouses hostile reaction. It is well also to recall that hostile feelings may be displaced on noninvolved persons, that is, spread outward in widening waves to engulf a school class, a college, a community, the nation. Thus the idea of tension is full of meaning. Its obvious implication is that any intergroup issue should be approached with extreme caution.

THE PROBLEM OF CHANGE ACTION

From a teacher's standpoint, the heart of intergroup education is the problem of change action. That we do not know a great deal about the practical business of working with people is the point of Wirth's remarks:

⁵ Robert C. Angell, "Unesco and Social Science Research," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 283, 1950.

Most of the present "action programs" in intergroup relations assume that it is possible to change human behavior by teaching, preaching, propaganda, and legislation; or by exposing people to new conditions and altering the circumstances of their life. The assumptions on which these efforts rest, however, have not been critically examined. Only the first steps have been taken toward testing the validity of the theories underlying group action, and much still needs to be done.⁶

What is involved in change action? What are its large irreducible elements? We shall leave this for students to ponder, though a concrete case might help.

Suppose a superintendent of schools, head of a big-city school system, asked the reader to assist the schools in getting rid of race prejudice and discrimination. Where would one start? What would he do?

"Let us begin," says Wirth,⁷ "at the ground level." How about school districts? Have they been so drawn as to shut out or shut in certain people? Any surveyor, given a work staff and school cooperation, could find the answer to this question. He would apply his knowledge, his technical skills. But why, if we may raise an issue, should he do the job at all? That is, the surveyor's values are involved. Does he serve science, science only? Or does he want to end the prejudice-discrimination blight, thus serve the common good, the public interest?

It is here in the Chicago case, for that is what we have been talking about, that there is a point we admire. Sensing trouble from the start, these project directors affirmed three moral principles. Every child should go, with parental consent, to the public school nearest his home. No child should have to cross a main traffic way if this could be avoided. Each school should be used to its maximum capacity, thus saving taxpayer money.

One can call these rules by various names—practical, economical, democratic. Our label is *incontestable*, for no thoughtful person, unless he disbelieves in public education, can argue well against them. They are not abstruse or arbitrary or discriminatory. They are commonsense, operational, and inclusive of all children. They are, or should be, the rights of all young Americans.

To get on with the case, how did things turn out? The survey was

⁶ Louis Wirth, "Research in Racial and Cultural Relations," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 92: 381, 1948.

⁷ In conversation with the late Dr. Wirth, February, 1951. Wirth assisted in the Chicago Public Schools project.

made, after which school redistricting was begun. Anticipating continuing population shifts, it was made policy to repeat the study from time to time. What impresses us is the action phase of the project. An example is the way in which pupil rerouting was done. There were no scare headlines, no making of political capital. The task was undertaken matter-of-factly, like ordering next year's coal supply. Sure, complaints were made. Protest committees came in, as they had every right to do. Were they against every child attending his nearest school? No. Did they want any child to cross big traffic ways? No. Was it wrong to use each school to its maximum capacity? No. What then did they oppose? Whatever it was, it offered no firm ground on which to stand.

This is, perhaps, enough of this case. That nothing quite so grand has ever happened to us in years of intergroup work is, possibly, worth writing down. Yes, we've had a share of trouble, as Wirth and others also have had. And yet, the one thing most clear to us is that the problem of the actionist is to act. It is not to do nothing, to find good reasons why nothing can be done. It is to seek out prejudice and discrimination, to move on it. That is what we do with cancer and polio, with vice and crime. That is what the educator proposes to do about the prejudice-discrimination evil, to reduce it, to eradicate it. If this is not his aim, then we are badly confused. Why is he in intergroup work? There are so many words made about this that every student should try to make up his mind as to what he thinks, where he stands.

EDUCATION TAKES TIME

What, now, is an educator? A reformer, a crusader? A radical, a firebrand? A power-and-glory man? To us, none of these titles seems right. An educator is an *educator*, a person trained in a certain work role. We shall have much to say about this role but, at the moment, let us bear down hard on one item, the matter of time. Education, if it is to get into people, deep down inside, does take time. It takes much else, to be certain, but that is not the issue now. Again, a concrete case might be of help.

*Success or Failure?*⁸

At this evening meeting in a large Southern University, I had been asked to demonstrate sociodrama, to analyze it. The audience consisted

⁸ From Cook, *Intergroup Education in Teacher Education*, pp. 119-120, American Council on Education, 1951.

of a hundred or so white graduate students, each a school teacher or administrator. After a very brief introduction by the professor in charge, a panel was assembled. To save time, I spoke of a booklet, *To Secure These Rights*, a report then current by the Truman Committee on Civil Rights.

The idea was to see if any panel member saw an issue in this report, a value conflict we could discuss. When no one spoke up, I reviewed the report briefly, summing up a few of its proposals. Still no panel member saw an issue. For example, all favored segregated education. All felt that Federal aid should not be equalized between white and Negro schools. With time passing, I felt compelled to leave race, to pick up another topic and demonstrate sociodrama. . . .

On the way home that evening, the professor whose course this was chided me on my inability to get a race issue stated, saying that his experience had been much the same. I admitted failure but suggested that we wait and see if anything further happened.

Next morning, two students phoned for an appointment, each to talk about a problem of personal concern. At noon in the cafeteria, another student at the evening meeting sat down at our table. He remarked that the meeting had been good, "very good." I asked what was good about it and he was noncommittal. I asked again and he brought up a sheepish grin. "Well," he said, "you know how it is down here. We just don't think much of damn-Yanks. You are the first one we can remember who didn't try to tell us what to do about race, and the word is going 'round. There'll be people in to see you this afternoon, I think."

At a group meeting that afternoon, this same student introduced a real race issue. It involved a study of some Negro children, hence was well within the racial mores of the South. To study Negroes, to provide assistance to them, does not violate the caste line. To socialize with them, to treat them as equals, runs counter to white views, and the caste system acts to preserve itself.

Was this first evening a failure? It was if the test was to get race talk started, to look at the Committee report. But take another angle. Must one win the right to educate people, to invade their areas of privacy? Is resistance to this a normal reaction? Do we all do it under certain circumstances? Going further, does the case suggest that some basis of trust was being built up, that a thought process had been begun? Again, what is the educator's role? Is there a difference between leading people to think and tricking them or pressuring them or merely lecturing at them? Is education finally a self-willed act? If the answer here is yes, then what we mean by time (or process) is clear.

A STATEMENT OF GOALS

Time was when we left the value question at about this point, feeling that nothing said would sprout wings and disappear. But students have insisted on greater specificity, on knowing what the score is.

To be explicit about goals, we shall turn to the College Study. This was a 4-year cooperative project in intergroup education, spread well over the nation except in the far Northwest. The general aim was to improve teacher education, with each institution setting its own targets. Partly because of national workshops for Study personnel, it was found that as time went on thought began to coalesce, large goals to emerge. We never reached full agreement as, in truth, free thinkers seldom do, and yet there was unanimity in principle. It is these goals we wish to cite, for we believe they are now rather widespread among school and college folk.

Intergroup Work, Basic Goals⁹

1. To make factual studies of intergroup and intragroup relations, with attention to groupness and personality, in the areas of race, creed, and national cultures as they function in social living
2. To assess the above findings in terms of equal-rights values, with special concern for equality of opportunity in all citizen privileges and responsibility, including all levels of schooling
3. To initiate fact-finding and change-action programs in school and community where undemocratic conditions exist and to assist others in such work, pressing always for maximum agreement in change making
4. To support local and other intergroup agencies, those set up by law, such as the FEPC, and those operated as civic good-will ventures, offering them technical help as well as citizen assistance
5. To contribute to the advancement of knowledge in the intergroup field, especially to an understanding of experimental action, for it is on knowledge and related elements that sound human-relations education must ultimately rest
6. To interpret intergroup education to schools and colleges, the aim being to further its development as a professional area in teacher education; and to interpret it to civic agencies, public officials, and so on, the aim being closer all-community cooperation.

⁹ Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff. Our statement here is an adaptation and extension of College Study aims.

The danger is that we shall ask these few words to do more than they can do, to bear more weight than they can carry. For example in point 5, "knowledge and related elements." What does this mean? It means more than anyone can say in brief space, all the basic mental outcomes one might care to enumerate.

The best we can think of is to state our meaning in terms of a *KVSJ* complex of factors. *K* is knowledge, the tested findings of science, the trusted learnings from experience. *V* is values, the desiderata on which action rests, the moral principles inherent in our democratic life. *S* is skills, the "can do" of the teacher-leader, the agency head or church worker, wherever he or she functions as an educator. *J* is a symbol that is hard to define, much harder still to teach. It is sound judgment in decision making, in guiding change action. It wraps up, in a way, all the other factors, shaping them into a concrete, situational package. It distinguishes, more than anything else, the old hand and the novice in tensional study-action processes.

It is this *KVSJ* complex, more so than our formal list of goals, that we are shooting at in this book. Put in better words, it is growth in these overlapping areas of "knowledge plus" that we wish for students in our own intergroup courses. In all of this, to repeat, it is judgment that puzzles us the most. Why is it that some students show good judgment in class discussion and others do not? The first must have learned it but when and how? The second may never catch on, nor have we so far been able to help them understand their blind spots, at least not very much. This is a mystery to us.

COLLEGE LEADERSHIP ROLE

In concluding, let us see what has been said. After starting with some student experiences, opening gambits in a game of chance, we took a look in passing at current criticisms and concerns. This was preliminary to the main point in the chapter, a definition of intergroup education. Group cleavages along racial, creedal, and national lines were discussed, the whole being viewed in terms of majority-minority relations. The concept of social tension was introduced, after which thought turned to the educator's major problem, that of change action. One caution, that of time (or patience) was entered, and this was followed by a statement of study-action goals.

Where in all of this is leadership to be found? Where if not in centers of learning, in colleges and schools? Not that the task of changing society, for that is surely at issue, can be entrusted to education alone. That is the job of all departments of society, the nation's total control culture. Government, for example, must do a great deal, for it is the basic institution on which all of us depend, all of us speaking for us all. But everything considered, schooling can be expected to play a very significant role.

Speaking for higher education, Redfield puts well the point with which we shall conclude. He is addressing a conference of college officials on the undemocratic college quota system.

I reject the view that it is the simple duty of a university to bring together teachers and scholars, each separately teaching and studying what he wants to study or is hired to teach. A university is put there by society, not that each of its professors shall pursue his own interests, but that there shall be a better society. Knowledge is to be sought and taught for the public good.

The very privileges of academic people, the special opportunities they enjoy, give the university a role of leadership in the common effort which it would be stupid to ignore and cowardly to refuse. The university, in this view, is not a mere agency of public opinion. It is an institution of moral leadership in the community, and it is to lead toward justice for all.¹⁰

Every college, great or small, is a band of scholars, searchers after right and truth. It is a community of independent thinkers, an intellectual social world. It can reflect the outside universe, its pressures and alarms, its expedient ways of treating minorities. Or it can, within limits, undertake leadership, as Redfield has said. It can illuminate everyday life, rather than refract it, become a beacon rather than a mirror. It can, in our view, concern itself with the human use of human beings, their conditions and entitlements. It can and will do this if its object is to be of maximum service to its area and era, to place and people over the long sweep of time.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. What is the one main point you've learned in this chapter? Which point is most unclear or most doubtful to you? See if other students feel as you do.

¹⁰ Robert Redfield, "Race and Religion in Selective Admission," *Journal of the American Association of College Registrars*, 21: 527-542, 1946.

2. Do you recall the professor in Butler's *Erewhon*? "It is not our business," he said, "to help students think for themselves. Our duty is to insure that they think as we do . . . at least as we say we do." Agree? Ask your professor for his comments on this.

3. Do you like concrete cases? Can you give better ones than we have? Write a case paper to turn in.

4. Is the concept of majority and minority groups clear? Would you agree that power is the one most basic differential? Why?

5. "Is intergroup education possible?" asks Gordon Allport in the *Harvard Educational Review*, 15; 83-93, 1945. Make a class report on this.

6. Do you agree that change action is the center of school and college concern in intergroup education? If not, what is central?

7. What do you think of our KVSJ complex, that is, do you think of your own growth in these terms? What is judgment? Why is it so hard to teach? Read Wayne A. R. Leys, *Ethics for Policy Decisions*, Prentice-Hall, 1952.

SELECTED READINGS

Is it possible to buy one or more supplementary books for class use? If so, we suggest an inspection of these volumes.

Intergroup relations, general:

- Berry, B.: *Race Relations*, Houghton Mifflin, 1951.
 Brown, F. J., and J. S. Roucek: *One America*, Prentice-Hall, 1952.
 Marden, C. F.: *Minorities in American Society*, American Book, 1952.
 Rose, A. and C.: *America Divided*, Knopf, 1949.
 Schermerhorn, R. A.: *These Our People*, Heath, 1949.
 Simpson, G. E., and J. M. Yinger: *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, Harper, 1953.

Intergroup education:

- Cook, L. A.: *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, American Council on Education, 1951.
 — (ed.): *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, American Council on Education, 1950.
 — (ed.): *Toward Better Human Relations*, Wayne University Press, 1952.
 Redden, J. D., and F. A. Ryan: *Intercultural Education*, Bruce Pub., 1951.
 Simpson, M. B.: *Intergroup Education and the American College*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.
 Taba, Hilda, et al.: *Intergroup Education in Public Schools*, American Council on Education, 1953.
 Trager, H., and M. R. Yarrow: *They Learn What They Live*, Harper, 1952.
 Vickery, W. S., and S. G. Cole: *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, Harper, 1943.

CHAPTER 2

Minorities in Light of History

He that ignores the lessons of history is doomed to repeat its mistakes.

—GEORGE SANTAYANA

One need only look about to see that much of life is struggle. Men struggle against nature and against one another. They cooperate to be certain, else a social order would be impossible. But their differences are of interest here. Over years of time, these conflicts have been built into persistent patterns, taught us from early childhood through adolescence. These ingroup-outgroup patterns tend to contradict our democratic ideals, to build iron curtains among us. No one in particular willed them, no moral person wants them, yet here they are. It is these disunities, these "dis-eases" of mind and heart, that we shall try to clarify, to interest students in making their own further study.

The task just set is all but impossible. Our knowledge is too limited, words have no common meaning, space forces us to limit needed qualifications. Topics are highly charged, arousing anger. Worse still, it may be felt that some things are better not discussed, that communication *inter se* is bound to fail. While we respect this view, we do not share it. A hundred years ago, we stopped talking about a crucial issue, then fought a bloody civil war to settle it. We must discuss intergroup problems, learn how that can be done. Otherwise, one grows up prison-pent, a victim of his own prejudices.

FISSURES IN OUR COMMON LIFE

MacIver¹ speaks about a "sheer caste line" that separates Americans. In 1950, this line marked off 14,894,000 Negroes, 9.9

¹ R. M. MacIver, *The More Perfect Union*, pp. 24-27, Macmillan, 1948.

per cent of our total population. The caste line also separated from whites over a million persons listed in our Federal census as Mexicans. It embraced, finally, as seen in Fig. 2, over half this number of "other races." MacIver speaks next about a "deep fissure line" that sets off some 5 million Jews, and than of a "lesser line" which influences perhaps 16 million immigrants, plus their children. We would add to these figures at least 26 million Americans who are

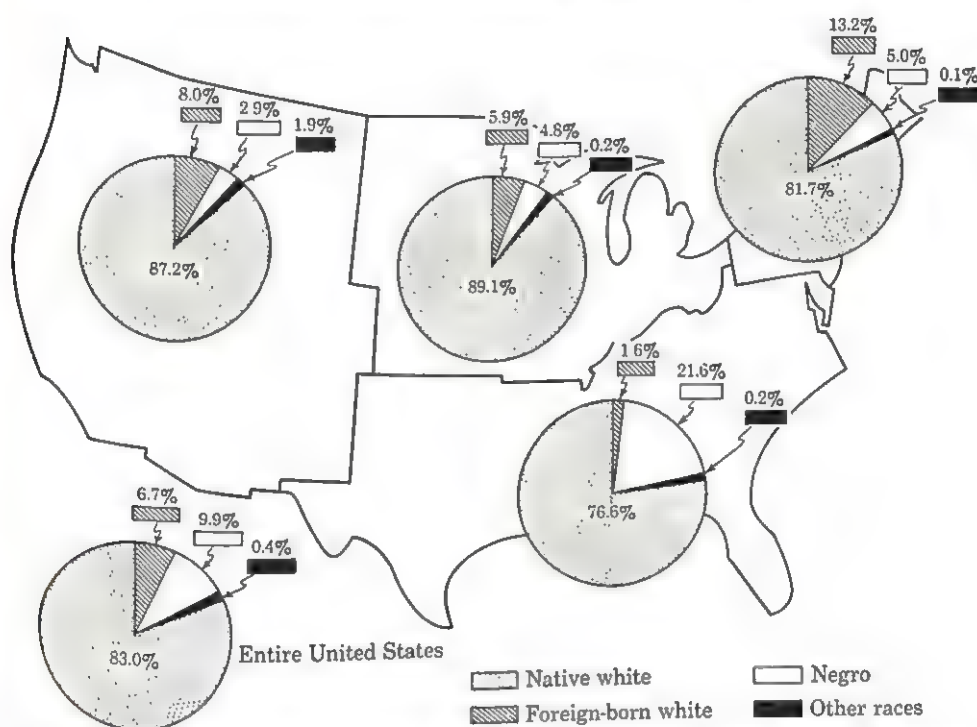


FIG. 2. United States race and nativity, 1950, by regions. (From *N.E.A. Research Bulletin*, Vol. 29, 1951.)

Roman Catholic. Other non-Protestant creeds should be listed, but these congregations are not large.

The statistics cited suggest the size of our principal ethnic minorities. Totals come to over 60 million. Using 1940 census data, the Roses tried to eliminate overlaps. Their estimated actual total was 43,657,839.²

NEGROES AND WHITES

In 1619, a Dutch ship landed twenty "Negars" at Jamestown. These Negroes were not slaves; in truth, one became a slaveowner.

² Arnold and Caroline Rose, *America Divided*, p. 62, Knopf, 1948.

Their status was much the same as that of white indentured servants, though slavery was destined to evolve from about 1630 to 1660. For two centuries the slave trade flourished in varying degrees, being prohibited in 1808 and stopped in 1863. Until the cotton gin began to make slave labor profitable, it looked as if slavery would die out. As it became a part of the plantation system, Northern sentiment increased against it. The Civil War was not fought to free the slaves, yet it did have this consequence.

Our First Census in 1790 listed some 750,000 Negroes, about 60,000 being free persons. Almost a fifth of the United States population then was Negro, nine-tenths of them being in the South. Until 1880, American Negroes doubled in number every 30 years, totaling in that year 6.5 million. In 1953 these Americans numbered close to 15 million, or 9.9 per cent of our people. While they have spread over the country, they still form 21.6 per cent of the South's population. This is more than four times their ratio to whites in any other United States census region.

History books tell a lot about the "reconstruction period" after the War between the States. At first the North seemed bent upon seeing that Negro citizens and voters exercised their full civil rights, whereas the South, impoverished and embittered, sought to keep Negroes in their "place," to shape them as a semifederal labor force. Pressure on Negroes was worse in the 1880's and 1890's.

In one sense, this great North-South squeeze set the Negro on his road to freedom. Under slavery, most Negroes had an established place in economic life. Inhuman as this place was, it did permit Negro survival and increase. With emancipation, this traditional position was lost. The Negro's prospects, while more challenging, were much more uncertain. He was free, free for what? He had no legal rights which all whites respected, no genuine security of person. He was, en masse, unlettered, poverty-stricken, untrained, needed for his labor but unwanted as a person. The one thing he did have was mobility. He could come and go, move about, in search of opportunity.

It was World War I, with its near stoppage of immigration, that brought Negroes in large numbers to industrial centers. This great mass exodus, and it still continues, was not really a South-to-North movement but rather a move toward big cities. From 1900 to 1930, to take a recent period, 2.2 million Negroes streamed "northward." During the 1930's, Detroit's colored citizens increased 194 per cent,

with similar increases in New York City, Chicago, and other big-city centers. How these workers have fared is told in part in Fig. 3.

One would miss much if Fig. 3 were read to show only that Negroes are lower than whites on the economic ladder. This is true, notably for Negro women workers. One should note also the top-to-bottom range in the Negro labor force, a spread which is increasing.

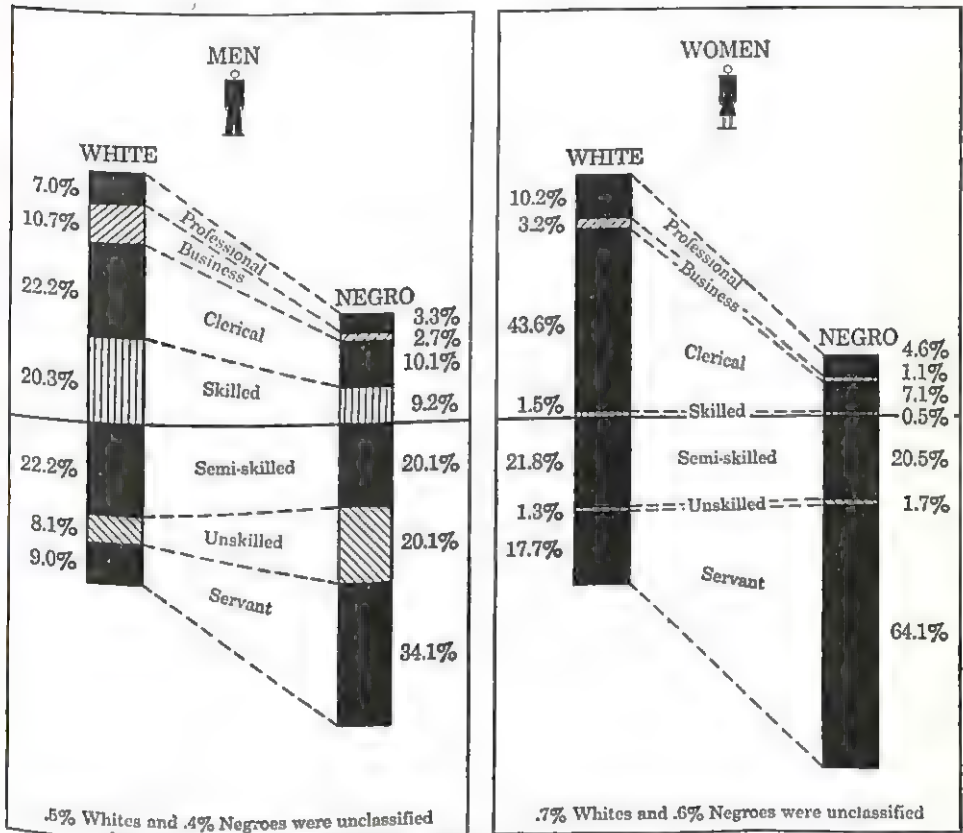


FIG. 3. White and Negro workers, 1940. (From Sixteenth Census, 1940.)

This indicates that a people not so long out of slavery are getting on. They are entering business and professional pursuits, occupations so basic to secure middle-class status.

It would be hard to close this brief profile without paying tribute to great Negro leaders, to Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, and others; and to a number of organizations, the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In recent times as Negro leaders have

looked ahead, they have spoken of four possible adjustments to our color caste-class society

To get out
To get white
To get along
To fight

If, in these present times, *get out* means an escape to Africa, a revival of Garveyism, or any kind of nonparticipation, then it is as dead as a dodo. Negro Americans are Americans in their culture, their life, their aspirations. Their lot is cast here; their future is the future of the nation. While their achievements have been impressive, the full potentials of this people are not yet known. They cannot be known until life chances are more nearly equalized.

If *get white* means changes in racial features, the process of racialization has been under way since the earliest times. The Negro race type is changing to approximate the generic white model, though how fast is a moot question. If *get white* means to pass as a white at times (say, on a job) or for good, the practice is more and more condemned by the Negro group. One of its many deterrents is a growing race pride. If *get white* means to share in cultural goals, to seek full and free status, then all Negro Americans claim this as a birthright.

Get along might mean several things. It might mean subserviency, the Uncle Tom Negro, kicking dust along a Georgia road, unloading a Mississippi boat. Or it might mean a clownish lout, using ignorance as a cloak against the dangers he must run, dangers to his person. To most Negroes, the phrase would mean to cooperate with whites in every honorable way, to give and to expect fair play.

To fight is the firm doctrine of the Negro liberal, as it is of all liberals everywhere. It is also the battle cry of the radical, the professional "race man." In either case, the phrase does not imply the use of physical force unless law and order, discussion and mediation, fail. To fight means to use the weapons a democracy gives to citizens as tools with which to advance their legitimate interests, the strategies and tactics which can now be found all along the color line. It is here that Negro and Negro-white organizations play a conspicuous part. It is here that many Negro colleges function well in the training of young people.

MEXICAN, SPANISH, ANGLO

In 1940, the nation had 1,861,400 so-called "Spanish-speaking" people. This included Mexicans of foreign birth, Americans of Spanish descent, and persons of mixed alien-native parentage. Sanchez³ estimates that for 1950 the number of Spanish-speaking persons should be put at 2.5 million. Three-fourths are in five Southwestern states. Thousands of Mexicans range the nation north to south, then south again, mainly as transient crop workers. Some cities, such as Los Angeles, have large and stable Mexican populations.

In our national history, three cultures, not two, have struggled for supremacy in the Southwest: Anglo, Spanish, and Indian. Indian culture had long existed before the Spanish came, even as the latter were followed many years after by the *Yanqui*, the Anglos. The product today, for example, in Arizona and New Mexico, is in many ways a Spanish-Anglo mode of life. In much of the Southwest, Spanish-Americans are the old settlers, the respected upper class. Some hold fast to old customs, speak with feeling of *nuestra vida*, though in the main social change is evident. The true Spanish tend to hold somewhat aloof from Indians and Mexicans, though in universities we have seen all these ethnics associate as intimates and equals. The Spanish are distinctly selective in their associations with Anglos.

Most Mexicans have come to the United States from a folk culture, a "hacienda" way of life. Their handicaps have been many. Their opportunities to learn our language, our customs, have not been great. They have been treated as an inferior people, a labor force, and located in "colonies." Under favorable conditions, as at Greeley, Colo., or Mt. Pleasant, Mich., where College Study researches have been made, one cannot find a more friendly people. They are warmhearted and generous to a fault. Their mode of life, however, leaves much to be desired—sanitation, education, what-not. Their existence is much like that of any marginal people, except for their alien ingroupness.

With World War II, to cite recent history, there came in our nation the same clamorous demand for cheap labor as in any other

³ A letter from Professor George A. Sanchez, January, 1950. See his booklet, with L. Saunders, *Spanish-speaking People of Texas*, University of Texas Press, 1949.

wartime. Mindful of its good-neighbor policy, our government did not yield to agricultural interests. On Mexico's entry into the war, the two nations made an agreement under which Mexican workers could be imported. These workers were to have free travel, to be paid a minimum wage or more, provided a decent place to live, and protected in their alien rights. Under this plan, some 415,000 Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande in a 5-year period, harvesting each year crops worth over 400 million dollars.

This arrangement ended in 1947. Since then an old custom has come into general use, illegal entry by land, by air, by sea. So-called "wetbacks" simply wade the Rio Grande. In one recent year, a half million deportables, along with 713 smugglers, were caught by border patrols. There is no doubt that a large number of these aliens live in the United States unlawfully, thus are open to all manner of exploitation in their work and life.

Somewhere in these profiles, students need to look at violence in intergroup relations. A sample, much less bloody than the Chicago or Detroit race riots,⁴ is found in the "zoot-suit riots" in Los Angeles in World War II.

In 1942, after the scare which led to moving the Japanese inland, Los Angeles newspapers began to play up "Mexican crime." Police arrested persons whom they called Mexican, jailed them, beat them up, in a much publicized campaign to "clean up" crime. Many of these individuals were teen-age youth, some Mexican, some not. On an evening in June, 1943, some sailors were walking in a district where Mexicans lived, an area well off any beaten track. By their account, these men were set upon by a *pachuco* gang, a gang of kid toughs. This was reported to a police station, and a squad set out to find the gang. After thorough search, no group was found. No arrests were made, yet this "raid" drew a number of scare headlines. Such incidents excited the community, tensing it for whatever might turn up.

Soon riots began in the city and spread to other West Coast towns, lasting in all about a week. Bands of sailors, self-styled task forces, roamed the streets, beating up dark-skinned zoot-suiters. They hired taxis and hunted in certain "foreign" districts, pursuing anyone who started to run. The slogan was to "clean up the town," to do a job it was alleged the police and others had not done.

⁴ In Detroit, 31 persons were killed, 600 injured, 1,800 arrested. See *Life*, Vol. 15, July 5, 1943; also A. M. Lee and N. D. Humphrey, *Race Riot*, Dryden, 1943.

Joined shortly by soldiers and marines on leave, a sizable but fluctuating force was formed. It moved about downtown streets, stopping anyone who wore a zoot suit (tight cuffs, broad shoulders), tore it off or ordered the person to get rid of the "drapes." Mobs halted cars and pushed through theaters, dragging all suspected persons from their seats. One evening thousands of Angelenos turned out on press notice to witness a lynching, which did not come off.

With disorder mounting, military authorities decided that the city was unable (or unwilling) to stop events. All downtown Los Angeles was declared out of bounds to armed forces personnel. Violence ended as suddenly as it had begun, but not without formal protest by Mexico to our Secretary of State. National pressures led the local press to play down the "cleansing effect" of bloodshed, to clamor for good will and an "enduring peace."

Riots, lynchings, murders, whippings, etc., flare up, die down, flare up again, in the manner of group-to-group relations the world around. Now, with many nations tuned to war, a few bashed heads may not count for much, but still we think they do. They symbolize the tautness, the insecurity, under which minority individuals live, and their tendency to aggress against their aggressors.

Los Angeles is not the Southwest, make no mistake on that. Under ever better leadership, this great region has taken vigorous steps to better intergroup relations. State-wide programs, city councils on human relations, college conferences, and so on, have increased in number and firmed up in commitments to democratic creeds. The Denver Unity Council is an illustration of this. Present need, or so it seems to us, is for a strong regional association, one that can finance and coordinate immediate and long-range plans.

AMERICAN INDIANS AND WHITES

To some persons, the red men of this country are a reminder of the nation's failure to assimilate an ethnic minority, a people who took neither to enslavement, to any form of exploitation, nor to the white man's life.

In the beginning, if the phrase will do, Indians were called the "hostiles" in most places most of the time. They owned land or occupied it, hunted over it, and they fought to hold it. Our policy then and much later was to kill them off, push them out, sweep them

into pockets which, in South Africa, are called "monkey country," *i.e.*, rough, worthless. In 1887, 139 million acres of United States soil were in reservations; in 1933 only 37 million, a footnote to the land hunger of white settler and speculator. That some Indian land has yielded oil, that some is fit to farm, should not obscure the Indian's still unsolved problem—how to live, how to keep life going in his hunger box.

In 1901, Indian Americans had declined in number to 269,388, with extinction an ultimate possibility. In 1934, the nation's sense of justice led to a new law, a thorough revision of Indian policy. All red men were given citizen rights, replacing the ward status of many. Tribal councils were set up to transact tribal business, for example, to borrow money from our Federal government. Sale of land to whites was stopped, cooperatives were begun or strengthened, and schooling was given a more practical emphasis. In 1940, Indians numbered 370,000 a sign that changes had started to pay off. Since then, because of policy revisions, the issue of survival and well-being is again in doubt, with anthropologists dubious as to final outcomes.

White attitudes toward Indians are still highly variable. A good deal of conflict has centered in culture clash, the impact of two incompatible schemes of life. "From footgear through work habits to his gods," said a young Navaho we had once in a college workshop, "the Indian's ways are not the white man's ways, yet the Indian must accept the latter or perish." Maybe so, to a degree. But a growing number of educated Indians tend to feel otherwise. Given training and average luck, they feel they can compete with whites.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT PEOPLES

An immigrant is unlike a colonist. His homeland does not control his admission to and actions in a new country. He is not a visitor in a country, a traveler, or a student. These are alien nonimmigrants, their business specified, their stay limited. An immigrant is a person who comes here to establish residence, presumably a permanent home. He enters as an alien, with an alien's duties and privileges. He may become a naturalized citizen, and the children born here are citizens by birth, unless they elect otherwise.

Since 1820, when Federal bookkeeping was begun, over 50 million immigrants have come to the United States, a movement of un-

precedented size in world history. About four-fifths have been European migrants, with the remainder coming chiefly from the Americas and Canada. Figure 4 gives a perspective on this.

Our intake and outgo of people, including immigrants, has now been geared into a general travel pattern, a function of this nation's central position in world affairs. A sample of these data is given in Table 1.

*Table 1. Arrivals and Departures, United States, 1950**

	Arrivals	Departures
U.S. citizens.....	663,567	655,518
Alien nonimmigrants and nonemigrants...	426,837	429,901
Alien immigrants and emigrants.....	249,187	27,598
Total.....	1,339,591	1,112,207

* *Annual Report*, United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1950.

Since 1921, our intake of immigrants outside the Americas has been by a quota system. From 1929 to the McCarran Act (1952), 150,000+ persons have been permitted to enter each year. Quotas are assigned to countries on the basis of the "national origins" of our total population, thus favoring western and northern European nations. In 1948, to illustrate, admissible numbers were as follows: northern and western Europe, 125,000+; southern and eastern Europe, 24,000; all Asia, 1,528; all Africa, 1,200; the Pacific Islands, 700.⁵ Of late years admissions have tended to exceed quotas because of the entrance of marriage mates of United States citizens and displaced persons from southern and eastern Europe. The enactment of a just immigration policy is a present imperative, a matter discussed in Chapter 14.

One reads often of the "immigrant tide," a phrasing apt to be misleading. The stream of incoming people has had no steady flow. It has been a series of sequential stages. The first period, up to the 1850's, was a time of individual in-migration, hardy souls or desperate ones leaving bad conditions for unknown New World hazards. This stage was followed by that of family groups, at times of rural villages, aided by kith and kin in the United States, coming here to join them. In the 1880's, there came decades of mass exodus crowded steerage, delay at Ellis Island, much that every

⁵ W. S. Bernard (ed.), *American Immigration Policy, A Reappraisal*, pp. 301 ff., Harper, 1950.

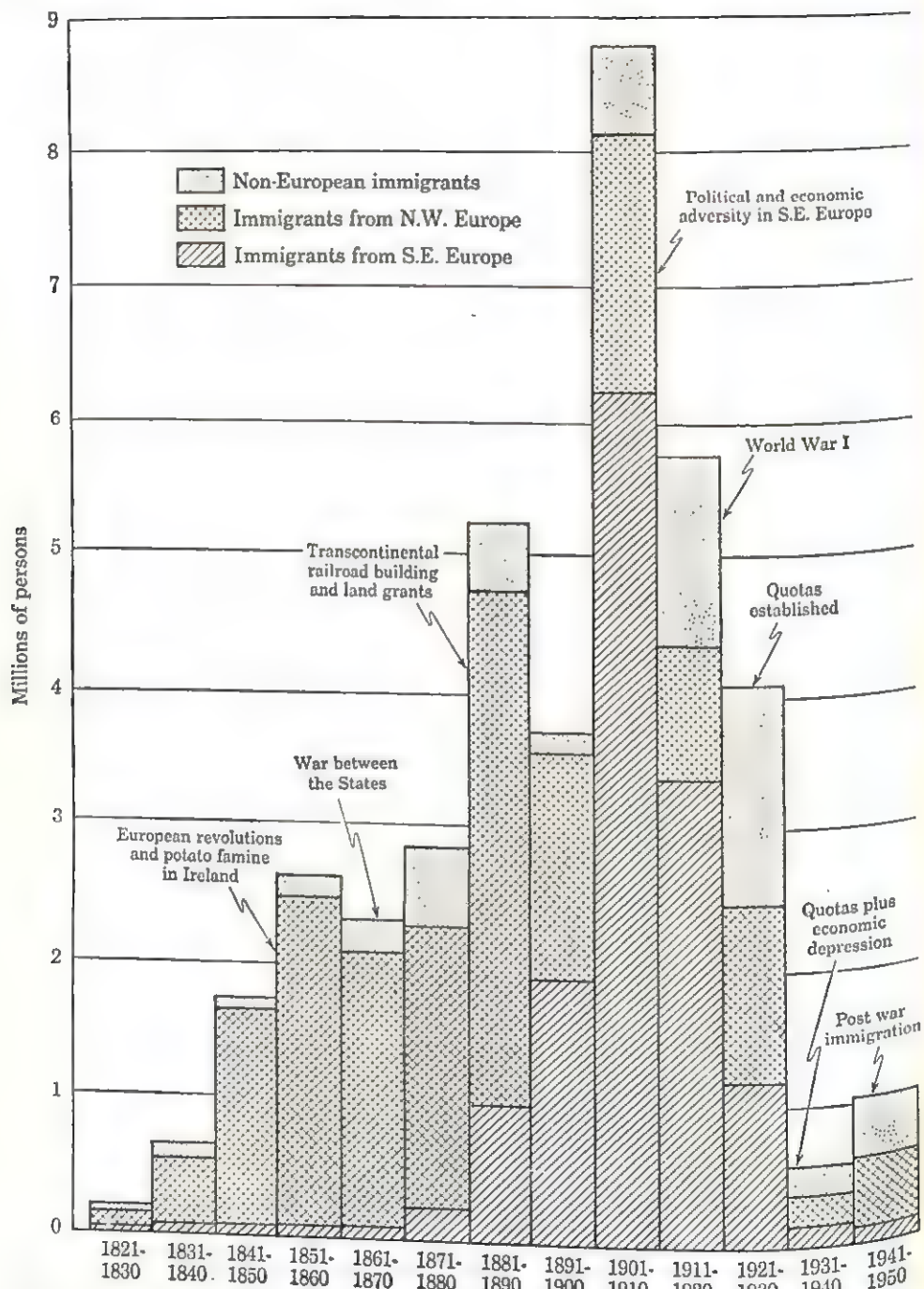


FIG. 4. Immigration into the United States, 1820 to 1950. (From data supplied to the Research Division of the NEA by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, 1951. N.E.A. Research Bulletin, Vol. 29, 1951.)

American school child has read. In recent years, the pattern has reverted to individuals, first to the talented few, such as movie stars, scientists, and technicians, and more lately to DP's and others.

Let us take a closer look at this vast settling of our country. So-called "Old" immigrants predominated until the 1890's, after which "New" immigrants took the lead. The first came from northern and western Europe, the second from southern and eastern Europe. It is interesting to speculate on all that this division separates.

Social backgrounds would figure here. "Old" migrants were, with exceptions, from Protestant countries, Germanic tongues, urban industrial nations, democratic governments. "New" in-migrants were largely Catholic (and Jewish), from mixed language groups, mostly rural and agricultural, living under a more authoritarian rule. Of greater significance, perhaps, are *our own changing life conditions*. Whereas early comers, whoever they were, had faced a wilderness, a moving frontier, later comers have found the nation fairly well formed in terms of language, government, and basic institutions. Their chief adjustments have been not to physical nature but to culture, the kind of society we have.

For these latecomers, mostly "New" immigrants, the urban pattern of life has been an economic necessity. Persons (or families) found lodgment in big-city slum areas, after which they sent for family members left behind. As their numbers grew, a colony came into being, a "Little Italy," a "Poland," and so on, a cohesive clustering of greenhorns. On this island within, one's own tongue was spoken, one's customs and institutions wrapped about him.

As downtown stores and shops expanded into the alien area or as adults did well in work or business, they tended to move out, to cluster again in a second area of settlement. By now new forces were at work, notably the young Americans in process. These boys and girls had gone to public schools, played with peer mates of native parentage, maybe worked about the city at a run of jobs. In many cases, these *kinder* have put pressure on parents to Americanize, often to move to a better district. Jewish people have a saying that "a Jew cannot escape Jews." What is meant is that Jews follow Jews, unto the third, fourth, and fifth area of settlement.

In general, we have expected all these aliens to Americanize, if not these adults then for sure their children. The assimilation proc-

ess reminds us of what can be seen on college campuses. Upper-classmen, from their lofty perch atop the heap, inspect incoming freshmen. My, my, the latter are a bum lot! Loud, rough, inept, unbright, a most unpromising crop. What the prestigious top dogs forget is that they, too, were once beginners, once unlikely-looking greenies. After freshmen have found their way up well, the moral is plain. Something like this has happened to every nationality group. Latecomers have been looked down upon and not, of course, without cause. But after the green wears off, these ambitious go-getters do their own looking down!

CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND WAR

No white incomers have met the gross mistreatment given non-white immigrants, notably Chinese and Japanese. At times of crisis, not even American citizenship has protected these persons from mob action. All have been lumped together as the "foreign element," human beings with no rights everyone must respect.

Chinese were imported in number after 1845 for work on railroads, in mines, on produce farms. Anti-Chinese feeling ran strong during the 1870's, when hard times brought charges of "coolie labor," "picture brides," "opium dens," and the like. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act stopped further immigration, a discrimination not corrected until almost current times. Little by little, West Coast Chinese spread over the country, mostly to big cities. Some started hand laundries, curio shops, and restaurants. As "Chinatowns" sprang up, they were ballyhooed as centers of mystery, vice, and crime, in short a sight-seer's must on his trip to the big and wicked city!

After 1912, when China became a republic, United States public opinion began a flip-flop. The Chinese were no longer sly, slinky, and clannish, an incomprehensible people. No, not at all. They were strange, sure, but peaceloving, studious, hard-working, in sum a good people to do business with. This view was strengthened when China entered World War I and again in 1931, when Japan invaded the Chinese homeland. When Mao's Communists took over the Korean war against UN forces, Americans were nonplused. We felt, most of us, that the "Peoples' Republic" was a tool of Russia, another front in the new type of undeclared total war.

The story of the Japanese in the United States is somewhat

similar in its initial phases to the one just sketched. It came, however, to a tragic wartime climax. In the 1890's, to fill in a bit, Japanese came to fill the labor vacuum created by Chinese exclusion. Hostility toward them was allayed somewhat by the Gentlemen's Agreement to stop emigration after 1907. In 1920, California outlawed landownership by persons "ineligible to citizenship," *i.e.*, all Orientals. This suggests the state of affairs until Pearl Harbor, when a wave of hysteria swept our nation, hitting hardest the West Coast.

In 1941, with speed and secrecy, all Japanese were moved from West Coast areas. They were rounded up by the army, held at assembly points, then evacuated to guarded inland barracks. There were ten of these relocation centers, each accommodating 8,000 to 16,000 inmates. Each family had a boxlike cubicle, about 20 by 25 feet. Each center was supposed to develop self-government, though use of the Japanese language was forbidden. As rapidly as possible, evacuees were questioned as to their loyalty. Since all Japanese aliens in the United States in 1940 amounted to only 47,305, it is clear that most of the 109,000 suspects were American citizens of Japanese descent. This fact has led, from the war's end to the present, to a scorching criticism of government policy.

Nisei, the native-born, did not find it difficult to establish their loyalty, even under trying circumstances. Some 30,000 served with distinction in the United States 442d and 443d Infantry Divisions, while others entered Pacific Area intelligence work. With the *Issei*, the foreign-born, the case was different. Whatever their state of mind, they could not affirm loyalty to a nation which had denied them citizenship without at the same time losing their legal status as noncombatant aliens. About 19,000 requested repatriation or expatriation. A number were released from custody and helped to find jobs inland. Some of these were well treated, others viewed with suspicion, and a few met with mob violence.

In retrospect, how is one to assess this wartime emergency measure? The West Coast was in no real danger of invasion, but that could not be known at that date. Wartime may excuse arbitrary governmental action, yet what happened in 1941 has a lesson. It can happen under crisis to other ethnics, to us all, unless the moral is that we do not treat citizens that way. A nation must protect itself, yet repressive action can destroy it, kill off the freedoms a democracy must fight to preserve.

In college classes for some years, it has been easy to find war veterans who have spent time in Japan. During the occupation period, they came to know a few Japanese. They were not in a position to learn much about them, their different outlooks, their varied ways of life. Student papers tell much of this nation's poverty, its struggles to westernize. Some accounts stress *shukan* (custom), and its tremendous hold on people. While good technical readings are abundant, educators will enjoy a special issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 26, September, 1952. It deals almost wholly with internal policies, school statistics, and current change problems.

JEWISH-GENTILE RELATIONS

There is no Jewish race, no set of physical traits or blood types which hold for Jewish people the world over. This folk had its origins in ancient times, in that part of Asia from the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas to India, a land where passed the ancestors of several European stocks. Out of this admixture, the Jewish people arose, an international community made coherent and compact by religious faith and social usage. In every nation except Israel, Jews are a small minority. They have resisted to the point of martyrdom the loss of their collective identity. They are history's unique people in this respect.

Jews have been in America since early colonial times. They came then from Spain and Portugal, the Sephardic Jews. In the 1840's, German Jews came in large numbers, settling in Eastern cities, notably in New York City. From the 1880's on, as we entered mass emigration, Jews came in greatest strength from eastern Europe, particularly from Poland and Russia. These were poor folk, ghetto dwellers, harrassed by pogroms. They settled in big-city areas, shaping their inner life about sacred beliefs and customs. They were orthodox, hence they felt at odds with Jewish reform practices. Some were skilled in needle trades and worked in sweated industries at pittance wages.

Around 1900 it appeared that American anti-Semitism was lessening, that it might die out completely. It had been partly an antiforeign feeling, in part also a reaction to Jewish competition. Heavy in-migration, which had kept it alive, slacked off, only to rise sharply before World War I. It was during this period, 1910 onward, that anti-Semitism as it is now known was born. News-

paper ads stated that no Jew need apply; hotels, clubs, resorts posted exclusion signs. Ford's *Dearborn Independent* printed absurd rumors only to retract them on threat of libel suit. Jewish social acceptance was at issue, a "status virus" that spread into every phase of intergroup life.

As serious as things seemed, world Jewry was in for a far more deadly blow. In 1933, Hitler began his rise to power. When his regime fell, the Nazis had killed over 6 million Jews. Of the Jews in Europe who did manage to keep alive, most were ill and destitute. Broken in body, crushed in spirit, many could imagine no safety anywhere, except possibly in Palestine. American Jewry, powerful, intelligent, informed, took a major role in establishing the new state. As we write, another drive, this one for 151 million dollars, is under way, the aim being to help Israel "consolidate the great gains she has made." Zionism has always been a compelling interest of Jewish Americans, though it has had severe critics among them.

In respect to prejudice and discrimination, most American Jews feel that they have no real choice to make. They must fight these dirty cloaks that people wear, fight for Jews, for all others. It is at once a struggle for survival and for personal dignity and worth. There are, of course, many assimilationists, persons lost to the Jewish community fully or in part. While Jews debate the issue of assimilation, participation, and so on, Gentiles impose no impassable barriers against them, at least nothing like the caste lines set against color groups.

"It is not enough," writes Pekelis,⁶ "for Jews to be anti-anti-Semitic." The task, as he sees it, "is to build a free society for all." Anyone can learn much about Jewish work and thought by studying national organizations, for example, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, the National Community Relations Advisory Council, welfare and rabbinical groups.

CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS

In 1951, United States churches had 88,673,005 members.⁷ This was 58 per cent of our population, the highest percentage ever re-

⁶ Alexander H. Pekelis (R. M. Konvitz, ed.), *Law and Social Action*, p. 254, Cornell University Press, 1950.

⁷ Statistics are by Benson Y. Landis, as explained in the footnote to Table 2. They are unofficial in the sense that there has been no United States census of religious bodies since 1936. It should be remembered that church practices differ in respect to counting church members.

ported by our churches. From 1940 to 1950, when our people increased only 15 per cent, church membership advanced 34 per cent. Nearly a million new names have lengthened Sunday-school rolls since 1947, making more than 30 million children who receive organized religious instruction. Statistics on the largest church congregations are given in Table 2.

*Table 2. Ten United States Religious Congregations, 1951**

Roman Catholic.....	29,241,580	Protestant Episcopal.....	2,471,464
Baptist.....	17,065,572	Disciples of Christ.....	1,792,985
Methodist.....	11,352,345	Eastern Churches.....	1,785,000
Lutheran.....	5,977,912	Congregational.....	1,241,477
Jewish.....	5,000,000	Latter Day Saints.....	1,237,767
Presbyterian.....	3,366,491	Churches of Christ.....	1,000,000

* Compiled by Benson Y. Landis (ed.), *Yearbook of American Churches*, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States, Aug. 25, 1952.

Table 2 reports figures for only ten of the nation's 252 creedal groups, the ten largest. Stokes⁸ thinks of all our churches as falling into three types. One is the "independent, democratic churches," illustrated by the Congregationalists. The second is "representative churches, with some form of republican government," for instance, Presbyterians. The third consists of "episcopal churches with bishops and a form of government varying from the monarchical, as with Roman Catholics, to the 'representative,' as with Methodists."

To say that we Americans take pride in our churches, our diverse religious views and values, should not obscure the fact of inter-creedal strife. This struggle has centered mainly in Catholic-Protestant relations, a complex matter quite impossible to clarify in brief space.

Most early colonists came from England, a nation that found then her main enemies in Catholic France and Spain. New Englanders reflected homeland prejudices. By their official and unofficial actions, they tended to disadvantage "Papists," to favor Protestant denominations. Even Maryland, a Catholic center, repealed its Toleration Act in 1654. A law was passed that "none who profess to exercise the Popish religion . . . can be protected in this province."

After our independence was won, state constitutions and laws continued, with notable exceptions, to discriminate against Catholics. States insisted in direct or covert ways that Protestantism be supported, making its acceptance at times a prime test of

⁸ Anson Phelps Stokes, *Church and State in the United States*, Vol. I, p. 54, Harper, 1950.

officeholding. Doubt was expressed as to whether Roman Catholics, by reason of their "allegiance" to a foreign power, could be loyal citizens of the new American republic. Nativistic movements were recurrent, the most notorious being the "Know-Nothing" political party.

We must, now, jump to present times. Is Catholic-Protestant conflict increasing? Kane,⁹ a sociologist, studied this by making a content analysis of two well-known religious weeklies, each with broad national coverage. One was the *Christian Century*, an undenominational Protestant magazine, and the other was *America*, Roman Catholic. Only editorials, articles, and letters which were critical of the other religion were analyzed. The time covered was the first half of the years 1939, 1944, 1949. Table 3 gives the principal findings.

Table 3. Items Critical of Catholicism and Protestantism, Respectively*

Magazine	1939	1944	1949
Christian Century.....	15	15	42
America.....	8	3	14

* John J. Kane, "Protestant-Catholic Tensions," *American Sociological Review*, 16: 668, 1951.

What Kane's study suggests is a definite increase over the 10-year period in intergroup antagonism. This assumes the worth of the index used, a point not beyond debate.¹⁰ Areas of most controversy were four: international relations, Federal aid to education, religious beliefs, and censorship of mass media, chiefly public print, radio, and movies. The study itself is small, hence by no means conclusive. The need for research in this field is, perhaps, too obvious for comment.

Among the four issues stated by Kane, the one of most immediate concern to educators is possibly Federal aid to education. All Americans would agree, we believe, that in the United States church and state are separate. They are separate but interdependent, each helpful to the other, as is not true in countries with traditions that differ from ours. In principle, this is clear, as affirmed by a committee of distinguished educators. "The core meaning in the doctrine of separation of church and state we believe is this: there

⁹ John J. Kane, "Protestant-Catholic Tensions," *American Sociological Review*, 16: 663-672, 1951.

¹⁰ For a criticism of Kane's choice of journals, G. D. Alston, *American Sociological Review*, 17: 236-237, 1952.

shall be no ecclesiastical control of political functions; there shall be no political dictation in the ecclesiastical sphere, except as public safety and public morals may require."¹¹

This is a form of "yes, but—" thinking, leaving the real issue unexplored, unsettled. The issue is in the last phrase, above. Religion does flow over into safety, morals, life, and if it did not that would, indeed, be a sorry matter. And government does "dictate" (*sic*) to church orders because it is the job of government to maintain over-all control. Our government is, to repeat, all of us speaking for us all. We will it so; we change it as we will and can.

To get on with this, let us consider two not unrelated events, the first some years ago, the second pretty close to now.

In January, 1930, Pius XI declared that "the Church is independent of any sort of earthly power as well in the origin as in the exercise of her mission as educator, not merely in regard to her proper end and object but also in regard to the means suitable to attain that end. . . ." When this encyclical reached the United States, the New York *Times* commented:

The Pope's encyclical sounded a note that will startle Americans, for it assails an institution dear to them—the public schools—without which it is hardly conceivable that a democracy could long exist. . . . If other churches were able to make like claims—that is, that "the educative mission belongs pre-eminently" to them for their children, and were to lay like prohibitions, the very foundations of the Republic would be disturbed.

For two decades at least, this has been a very warm debate. It has centered of late on the Barden bill, a measure designed by Congress to provide Federal aid to needy school districts. In general but not uniformly, this bill has been opposed by Roman Catholic representatives and supported in whole or part by non-Catholic spokesmen. The Barden bill does not offer assistance to parochial schools *unless the states so decree*. That is, the bill intends that state practices prevail, assuming minimum educational standards are met.¹² In spite of rather strong action for the measure, it has failed repeatedly to pass and become law.

¹¹ Committee on Religion and Education, *The Relation of Religion to Public Education*, p. 25, American Council on Education, 1947.

¹² This bill was introduced in Congress on May 11, 1949. For details, Senator Robert A. Taft, "Education in the Congress," *Educational Record*, 30: 337-356, 1949, followed by Father W. E. McManus's questions and Mr. Taft's replies. The Catholic position has been stated by various Catholic educators, including J. M. O'Neil, *Religion and Education under the Constitution*, Harper, 1949.

The other event is related to what has just been said. In her syndicated column, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt cited the constitutional separation of church and state. She opposed grants-in-aid from public funds to parochial schools for the direct financing of education. She favored aid for "auxiliary services," such as bus transportation, health care, and school textbooks. She made no charge of any kind, merely stating her personal point of view.

On July 21, Cardinal Spellman replied in a public letter to Mrs. Roosevelt, accusing her forthrightly of anti-Catholic views. This charge was based not only on her attitude toward the Barden bill but on her writings and public works. The letter, as someone has said, "lacked the Cardinal's usual courtesy," showing perhaps his deep chagrin and concern. However this may be, there was an immediate public protest, along with a spirited defense. The New York governor, for example, said that he felt "deeply shocked at this attack on Mrs. Roosevelt." The *Times* took the position that "it is the child that matters, not the disputants," children in need of better schooling than many states can provide.

After Mrs. Roosevelt's restrained reply, Cardinal Spellman issued a statement of his modified position. A number of authorities have come to regard this expression as most significant. "This is the first time," writes Stokes,¹³ church analyst and historian, "that the hierarchy, as represented by one of its most prominent members, has recognized publicly that direct aid for the support of parochial schools was, under existing constitutions, laws, and Supreme Court decisions, *unconstitutional*." Mrs. Roosevelt called the Cardinal's statement "both clarifying and fair," thus ending the controversy.

When this discussion came to the attention of Pius XII, he is reported as saying that "the correspondence has resulted in resolving the situation." What has been resolved has not, to our knowledge, been made clear. The matter may have to go, finally, to the United States Supreme Court for decision or else be handled by constitutional amendment.

FREEDOM, UNITY, JUSTICE

Incomplete as these profiles are, they should help one become better informed about past and present intergroup relations. One

¹³ Stokes, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 757.

cannot do a survey of this sort without ending with any number of questions.

Why, in so favored a land, has there been so much intergroup conflict? Any answer we could make would have to relate to the kind of people we are, the facts of our history. With exceptions, we have welcomed here all kinds of persons. We asked that they come and put down roots and build a nation. We have had to face the consequences of this action, the act of freeing people to be different. This has made for extreme cultural diversity, for cooperation and conflict, for our present multigrouped society.

In extending freedom to people, we have recognized another need, that of binding individuals together into a commonweal, a strong united nation. Here, at this point, has been the real issue. How much freedom, how much unity? To strike a balance in this matter, a liberty-restraint formula, has never been easy, nor will it be easy now or in the future. Our society is a monolith, but it changes.

One further point comes to mind. In the problem just stated, the search for a proper equilibrium, the concept of justice is paramount. We know no simple way to define this term, though we shall work on this in Part Three. Whatever justice is, it is a central objective in intergroup education. Minorities will continue, no doubt, to bear much of the burden in our fumbling search for fair and decent ways of treating people.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. It has been argued that "the very existence of minorities in our country is incompatible with the basic values of our democracy." What does this mean to you? Do you agree or disagree?

2. Are you clear on both the biological and sociological meanings of race? If you need to read up on this, we suggest W. C. Boyd, *Genetics and the Races of Man*, Chaps. 7 and 8, for the biology.

3. As a class project, organize and carry out a local community study of one or more minorities. Parts of our Chapters 12 and 16 may help in planning the study.

4. Joseph H. Fichter, in *Dynamics of a City Church*, University of Chicago Press, 1951, tells a lot about a Catholic church in an urban parish of about 7,000. If this type of area study appeals to you, get and read this book.

5. How do sociologists study violence (mobs, riots, lynchings) in inter-

group relations? A readable little book is A. M. Lee and N. D. Humphrey, *Race Riot*, Dryden, 1943 (a good subject for a class report).

6. Are there in your class world-war veterans who have spent time abroad? Such students might put on a good panel discussion, a project most classes seem to like.

7. Do you read fiction and autobiography? Try some of the following current books related to your course:

Charles Angoff, *Journey to the Dawn*. How a Jewish family from Europe was Americanized.

Myron Brinig, *The Sadness in Lexington Avenue*. An American German-Jewish family in wartime.

Margery Finn Brown, *Over a Bamboo Fence*. Experiences in Japan during the occupation years; insightful, sympathetic.

Laura Hobson, *Gentlemen's Agreement*. Our choice as the best fictional study of anti-Semitism.

J. Saunders Redding, *On Being Negro in America*. A personal history of suffering and undergoing.

Carl T. Rowan, *South of Freedom*. The quest for freedom in the South in current times.

Thomas Sugrue, *A Catholic Speaks His Mind*. Critical, outspoken, debatable. An agree-disagree book.

John Tettmer, *I Was a Monk*. A devout man, trained for the priesthood, who broke with his Church.

8. Do you feel that every person's religion is his own business but that as public educators we must be concerned about the church-state-school issue? Explain your own point of view.

9. Has your class reached the point where students can state their personal views without feeling the need either to attack or to defend fellow students?

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PART TWO

*Understanding
Prejudice and Discrimination*

CHAPTER 3

Group Relations in Early Childhood

And the child will have as an adult the imprint of his culture upon him whether his society hands him its tradition with a shrug, throws it to him like a bone to a dog, or teaches him each item with care and anxiety.

—MARGARET MEAD

Past chapters have dealt with definition and history, the aim being to provide firm footing in a field new to most students. By now, a college class has hit its stride, settled down to the routines of search and find, which is a student's business. Here a crossroads appears, a trail with two turnings. Why spend time trying to understand prejudice and discrimination? Why not move on them forthwith, try to end them with dispatch?

Well, what is the use of science in education? Does the brook run dry unless there is a deep spring to feed it? Put as bluntly, as clearly, as we can, all men sell or trade the products of their backs, their hands, their minds, for a living. Knowledge is the teacher's forte. It is a clean thing, a useful thing, a potent force in change making. We feel that the more of it the better. Surely, in the task of reeducating people, the findings of science, the studies that have been made of the prejudice-discrimination evils, will play a big part.

What we propose to do, ahead of Part Three, is to canvass what is known about prejudice and discrimination. We shall proceed as most teachers wish, namely, by age-grade levels. These levels are simply a convenient way of organizing materials. Childhood is a continuous development, a pushing on of the past into the future. Cuts in the line, as Lasker¹ noted years ago, are arbitrary. The present chapter is on early childhood, on children up to, say, the sixth-grade level.

¹ Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children*, pp. 6-7, Holt, 1929.

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Before moving into materials, it is best to be certain that the above key concepts are understood. We shall group them for definition, then separate them for closer study.

In the simplest view, prejudice is pre-judgment. It is a bias for or against or even for dead center. What makes a bias a bias is that it ignores evidence or else acts contrary to it. It is illogical reasoning.

To a deeper-thinking person, this commonsense idea does not tell much, mean much. He knew all of this long ago. While more sophisticated views are numerous, the main ones are perhaps three in number.

1. To some writers, group prejudice is a deliberate invention. It is a viewpoint with a purpose. Some facts are involved— skin color, accent, dress, mannerisms, religion, and so forth, but reactions to them are occasions for the expression of prejudice, not its causes. This is the *scapegoat theory*, a favorite of psychologists. It is a projection onto others of things we dislike most in ourselves.

Anti-Semitism is an example. It is not a hatred of Jews as Jews but as symbols of something else, say, of modern competitive living with its inevitable tensions and frustrations. "And the goat (Lev. 16:22) shall bear upon him their iniquities unto a land not inhabited: and he shall let the goat go in the wilderness." Why Jews are selected as scapegoats is explained by Riesman:²

In the past, fairy tales have dealt with sorcerers, witches, Jews, Jesuits, Masons, and so on. Today, Jews are chosen from this list because they combine the mysterious foreignness which makes them acceptable as scapegoats with a position of prominence in the community which makes attack apparently logical and fruitful. No one can make political capital now out of an attack on witches. No one can unite a nation rived by caste and economic cleavage by presenting it an enemy which is obviously trivial.

2. Sociologists take this same idea and apply it to people in groups. Prejudice is an *ingroup defense mechanism*, overt or covert, or both. It arises under conditions of change, real or imaginary. It is a pragmatic effort to hold some "line," some preferred position in society. Status and power issues are involved, along with eco-

² David Riesman, "The Politics of Persecution," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Spring Issue, p. 4, 1942.

conomic gain, so that prejudice might turn into a deliberate exploitation of disadvantaged peoples.

Bertrand Russell³ catches the first part of this but not the second, the fact of change; the latter would be evident if his people were set in motion.

We are Americans, therefore America is God's own country. We are white, therefore God has cursed Ham and his descendants who are black. We are Protestant or Catholic, as the case may be, and therefore Catholics or Protestants are an abomination. We are male, therefore women are unreasonable; or female, therefore men are brutes. We are Easterners, and therefore the West is wild and woolly; or Westerners, therefore the East is effete. We work with our brains, and therefore it is the educated classes that are important; or we work with our hands, therefore manual labor alone gives dignity.

Students will recognize this as the ingroup-outgroup view mentioned in past chapters. While we must, further along, explore this in detail, let us say now that it characterizes majority and minority relations.

3. We have not, as educators, felt too happy about any learned but partial, fragmental theory. Our preference is for description rather than for shorthand definition. To us, the prejudice-discrimination puzzle is a compound. One factor, the dynamic element, is an emotional attitude, a feeling of againstness. This ranges from a mild dislike to an intense hatred, and it is directed not toward individuals but toward all group members. Second, there is a cognitive element, a projection of meaning onto reality. Negroes, en masse, are like this, and whites like that. That perceptions run counter to fact, that the logic is bad, does not alter erroneous ideas. The world is as the prejudiced person sees it, providing him support for the way he feels.

Third, discriminatory action is a part of this complex. This varies from mere avoidance through condescension to gross exclusion, exploitation, and violence. Fourth, ingroup values are at stake—things to protect and advance, plus subconscious presses of which actors are unaware. Finally, there is a tendency to rationalize, to give good reasons for what one does rather than real reasons. Censors are at work in the prejudiced, mirrors which reflect self-imagery which the individual does not wish to face. He tends to

³ In *Unpopular Essays*, p. 160, Simon and Schuster, 1950.

develop a bad conscience in the act of hating people, though this is by no means uniformly true.

We spoke a while ago about separating prejudice and discrimination. This can be done by treating the two as a paradigm. Where P is viewed as feeling, and D as overt action, combinations are four:

$$\begin{array}{c} P + D \\ UnP + UnD \\ UnP + D \\ P + UnD \end{array}$$

What is described in these equations are types of persons.⁴ The PD person is one who is prejudiced and discriminates; for example, an Anglo teacher who dislikes Mexican children and punishes them without just cause. The reverse of the PD type is the unprejudiced nondiscriminator, the friendly, all-weather liberal in intergroup relations. An unprejudiced discriminator would be illustrated by a teacher (shopkeeper, and so on) who believes in equal rights, yet because of social pressures or other causes, treats whole classes of people unfairly. A prejudiced nondiscriminator would reverse this. While disliking, say, low-class children, he would treat them as he does other children.

A point to note is that the first two types are consistent, whereas the other two are not. These latter are expedient persons, adjusting to the turn of events, fair dealers when it pays to be so. Some are aware of their character structure, some are not. Both are, we believe, very good targets for an educational change of heart.

NEGRO EXPERIENCES WITH WHITES

With the above theory behind us, we shall look at some empirical studies. What does it mean to be a Negro in our society? The question is, of course, too complex to answer. Goff's study of 150 Negro ten- to twelve-year-olds, 90 in New York City and 60 in St. Louis, is the kind of "problems survey" many teachers undertake. Her procedure was via interview. Since she could not gain entry to the schools in either place, she talked with children in their homes, on doorsteps, at street hangouts. Each interview lasted a half hour or more.

⁴ An insightful discussion is Robert K. Merton in R. M. MacIver (ed.), *Discrimination and National Welfare*, pp. 99-126, Harper, 1949.

A Study of Unpleasant Contacts⁵

Of the 150 Negro children, only 5 per cent reported no unpleasant contacts with white children or adults. The 143 subjects listed 487 "difficulties," distributed as follows:

*Table 4. Difficulties with Whites**

Difficulty	Per cent of total	
	Children reporting	Cases reported
Ridicule.....	70.6	28.9
Physical mistreatment.....	10.0	4.3
Aggressive threat action.....	40.0	14.3
Rude (covert) treatment.....	17.3	6.5
Overt discrimination.....	31.3	17.0
Indirect disparagement.....	54.0	28.9

* Adapted from Regina Mary Goff, *Problems and Emotional Difficulties of Negro Children*, Contributions to Education No. 960, p. 22, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

By "ridicule" is meant belittling, debasing remarks. "Hey, nigger," some white boys said, "you ain't got no business here." Other samples are: "My teacher said, 'You act just like a darkey,' " or "A woman in the park told me, 'It's a pity whites have to mix with coloreds here.' " Table 4 shows that 70.6 per cent of the boys and girls questioned reported such incidents and that these reports totaled 28.9 per cent of all cases. The second largest category was "indirect disparagement," a form of stereotyping illustrated by a child's remark that "Movies always have such ol' silly parts for Negroes," or again, "I don't like 'Amos 'n' Andy.' Makes me think of slavery."

In trying to get at reactions to these experiences, the subjects were asked how they felt at the time and what they did.

Resentment of insult was the dominant response, followed by inferiority feelings and withdrawals. Only the latter category was related to sex, with girls expressing more inferiority reactions than boys.

Three-fourths of these children affirmed a tendency to withdraw from unpleasant contacts with whites, the remainder to fight or argue. New York boys reported more fight reactions than did St. Louis boys, with no reliable difference by parent income level.

About two-fifths of all 487 "difficulties" were not told by children to parents. When mothers were informed, two-thirds advised their young-

⁵ Regina Mary Goff, *Problems and Emotional Difficulties of Negro Children*, Contributions to Education No. 960, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

sters to avoid trouble, to accept whatever whites did or else to withdraw. About 12 per cent of these mothers told children to stand for their rights, to argue back, and if need be, to fight.

*Table 5. Emotional Response**

Reaction	Per cent of total	
	Children reporting	Cases reported
Resentment.....	69	57
Inferiority.....	47	38
Fear.....	6	3
Indifference.....	3	1
Other.....	3	1

*Table 6. Behavioral Response**

Overt action	Per cent of total	
	Children reporting	Cases reported
To fight.....	24	10
To argue.....	18	7
To withdraw.....	75	82

* Regina Mary Goff, *Problems and Emotional Difficulties of Negro Children*, Contributions to Education No. 960, p. 35, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

Our one comment on this study is to ask whether it is very deep, deep enough. Consider, for example, a self-report by a grade 4B pupil, a Negro girl, in a big-city slum-area school. The class assignment was to write an account of "What My Neighborhood Is Like."

What My Neighbor Is Like

I sure think in this neighbor mens chase girls to much because you cant go into the streets at night unless you have got no pertection. Because, it is like I said. Some dirty old rat will grab you and feel you everywhere and all over. And you cant go to resterant where is whites who will say, no, not to allow you. And you cant find no decent job at work, you know for pay. Prices are terrible here.

I think this that we the people should complaint of. These houses and homes are dirty broken down. And they is full of bugs and all kind of insects, not fit for us children to live in. All kinds of things and rats around.

And the streets is bars and stuff, drunks is fighting and like that. Mens are drunk or not, I see them using the trees just like dog messes. Whites is worse I think but I dont know is they worse than the coloreds. They [whites] is unfit to live in these United States of this nation but fit to live in Russia.

I dont think there is any wrong with my school. Some teachers we got hoard supplies we got to work with. Except I think for the boys. They treat you jest like they owne you. They grab you up jest like the mens and they should be dead also.

While this grade 4B pupil is a bit hard on the king's English, she is never unclear in what she means to say. Such papers as these go down deep beneath the findings of the usual formal survey. In their scrawly way, alley-wise kids tell of sex in vicious forms, of hunger and filth and overcrowding. They tell, too, of other things, straying from the assigned topic. They write of sparkling bits of jewelry, of a "bustes" fit sweater, of a new pair of jeans. Whites figure in these schoolroom accounts, at times in brutal ways but mostly as just "cussed mean." In mixed schools, Negro boys rate many white teachers as "OK," some few as "swell." Girls express a wish to touch a teacher's clothes, to hold her hand. Children show affection in these papers, great chunks of love and gratitude.

Table 7. Wishes of 618 Negro Children, Grades 8 to 12, in Sample West Virginia Communities*

Com- munity	Belong- ing	Achieve- ment	Eco- nomic security	Fear, worry	Love and af- fection	To be white	To share	Partici- pation
Average number of wishes per child								
A	2.2	5.3	3.4	1.3	3.0	1.3	3.5	5.1
B	2.2	5.4	3.4	3.4	3.2	0.8	3.8	5.9
C	3.3	5.9	4.3	3.7	4.3	1.1	4.3	5.4
Percentage of total response								
A	8.5	20.2	13.2	8.9	11.5	4.9	13.2	19.6
B	7.7	19.1	12.0	12.1	11.5	2.9	13.3	20.8
C	10.2	18.2	13.3	11.6	13.2	3.3	13.3	16.8

* Grace I. Woodson, in Cook, *College Programs in Intergroup Education*, p. 64, American Council on Education, 1950.

A good type of study for curricular uses is the survey that collects both "real life" and projective data. An example is Woodson's work with teen-age Negro youngsters on an adapted form of the Rath's *Wishing Well Test*.

What Table 7 shows most clearly is the expressed wish of these Negro youth to achieve and to participate. Few of them wished to be white, a finding contrary to some other research on this issue.

SKIN COLOR AND STATUS VALUES

That light skin has prestige value in Negro society is suggested by Myrdal.⁶ Warner,⁷ in a study of Negro adults, found all color shadings at each social-class level. More light to brown persons were, proportionately, in middle to upper classes, more dark-skinned persons in the lower class. Seeman studied the extent to which white-skin values had been absorbed by very young Negro children. His main aim was to see if these color values made a difference in self-ratings and friend choices.

*Skin Color Values among Negro Children*⁸

Subjects consisted of 81 Negro boys and girls in three public school classes (grades 3, 4, and 5 to 6) at Columbus, Ohio. Color shade was determined by Negro and white raters, working independently, on a 5-point scale: very light, light brown, brown, dark brown, very dark. With minor exceptions, all these complexions were found in all school classes, with brown and dark brown predominating.

The study was designed to give three kinds of data. First, children rated themselves as to color on the above scale, and self-ratings were compared with adult ratings. Next, children's best-friend choices were obtained by interview with each child, who also filled in a three-wishes form, including "I wish I had lighter skin than I have." Third, subjects were asked directly the skin color they preferred, this query coming at end of the interview. Findings in brief were:

1. In self-ratings, children rated themselves lighter than they were, as a rule one step lighter, in comparison with adult ratings on the same scale. Differences were significant at .01 to .05 levels of confidence, leaving little doubt as to the tendency of these children to "up value" lighter skin shading.

⁶ Gunnar Myrdal et al., *An American Dilemma*, p. 698, Harper, 1944.

⁷ W. Lloyd Warner et al., *Color and Human Nature*, American Council on Education, 1941.

⁸ Melvin Seeman, "Skin Color Values in Three All-Negro School Classes," *American Sociological Review*, 11: 315-321, 1946.

2. In best-friend choices, color did not appear to be a significantly influential factor. Questions on the importance of "good looks" showed "the almost complete absence of skin color as a *verbalized motivation*" in the choice of friends.
3. Much the same apparent disinterest in color was found on the three-wishes test. While some few children wished for lighter skins and "better features," most boys and girls wanted to be stronger or smarter or better liked, much as all children at this age tend to do.
4. Asked point blank as to skin preference, most answers were: "I'd like to be the color of my uncle because he's lighter than my family," or "David's color because he's light," or "my own color, not too light or too dark but smooth brown." Put in general terms, these replies indicate a strong pull toward lighter skin color.

It will be seen that the findings are, apparently, inconsistent; or better said, they appear to be ambivalent. All things considered, the researcher inclines toward the view that skin-color values do influence the status and behavior of these children. Preferential ratings, often in a more or less subconscious way, go to lighter-skinned persons. At the same time, the author of the study does not regard his work as conclusive, urging that replications be made.

How are these apparently contradictory responses to be explained? Seeman inclines toward the view that older Negro children and adults do value light-to-brown skin color and tend to impress this value on the young. The children studied, *i.e.*, mostly third- and fourth-graders, have not as yet absorbed the views of older persons. The result, as indicated, is a state of ambivalence. If this interpretation is correct, and if it is found to be widespread, one can expect skin color to grow in significance as children age. In early childhood, it can function as a vaguely held, or even subconscious, frame of reference in guiding interpersonal contacts. In adolescence or before, it may become a basis for rather rigid selective associations. Sherif's⁹ work on "social norms" supports these inferences.

*Further Data on Color Preference*¹⁰

The Clarks studied Negro five-, six-, and seven-year-olds, in all 160 children, North and South. The technique was to use a printed sheet of form drawings (apple, leaf, mouse, boy, girl, etc.), plus a box of assorted

⁹ M. Sherif, *The Psychology of Social Norms*, Harper, 1936.

¹⁰ K. B. and M. P. Clark, "Emotional Factors in Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," *Journal of Negro Education*, 19: 341-350, 1950.

crayons for each child. First, subjects were told to color the mouse in "its own color, just like a mouse" (natural color). Those who complied were then asked to color the boy or girl figure "the same color as you are, your own color." Finally, the request was made to color another boy or girl figure the color the subject most wanted to be, the most preferred skin color.

In general, children colored themselves (boy, girl figure) with painstaking care. Within the broad categories of "light, brown, dark," the great majority of subjects made correct self-identifications, an ability which increased with age. In 48 per cent of the cases, the most preferred color was brown; in 36 per cent white, and in 16 per cent irrelevant (blue, green, etc.). Choice of brown increased with age, with about 65 per cent of the seven-year-olds indicating this preference. Only 5 per cent of all the children ever used the black crayon.

Table 8. Child's Own Color and Color Preference

Own skin color	Color preference, per cent		
	Brown	White	Irrelevant
Light.....	52	38	10
Brown.....	51	32	17
Dark.....	41	43	16

There was a significant difference between Northern and Southern children. Of the latter, 70 per cent made brown their preferred color in working on the boy or girl figure, in comparison with 36 per cent of the former. A fourth of the Southern children made white their preferred color, in contrast to 44 per cent of the Northern children.

Again, color makes a difference. It can become a heavy load to carry, a weighty psychological handicap. Where, in schools, one finds cases of this sort, the need is for guidance and counseling. No one can be very healthy, much less happy, unless he respects himself, including his physical features.

PHILADELPHIA EARLY CHILDHOOD STUDY

Very exciting work with small children has been reported in the above project, a 3-year study ending in 1948. The purposes were, first, to study the attitudes of very young children, and second, to improve them in the sense of educating for democratic living. We

shall report now on the research phase of this significant project, leaving change efforts for Chapter 16.

*How Big-city Children, Aged Five to Eight, Perceive
Their Social Roles and Backgrounds¹¹*

In the several-sided Philadelphia Project, child study centered on perceptions of intergroup behaviors along racial and creedal lines, plus the understandings of family social backgrounds. Hypotheses were as follows:

- A. Cultural attitudes toward racial and religious groups are learned in early childhood, much earlier than is now believed.
 - 1. Learnings reflect the subcultures in which children live, the area life about them.
 - 2. Children learn adult attitudes by subconscious assimilation, as well as by direct teachings.
 - 3. The extent of learning, along with its content, increases with the age of the child.
 - 4. Children learn that talk about race and creed are taboo. When they are allowed to discuss these topics, they show genuine interest and concern.
- B. Group membership is a central aspect of the self-concept of young children, highly determinative of their ideas and feelings.
 - 1. Group membership is related to the basic need for acceptance.
 - 2. Negative self-feelings toward groupness, inner conflicts and confusions, arise frequently among minority children.
 - 3. Child feelings of worth and well-being vary with the social status of racial and creedal groups in our society.

To study these hypotheses, data were gathered on 250 kindergartners, first- and second-graders in six public schools. Schools were selected to typify city populations at lower- to middle-income levels. Children were white and Negro, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish.

Study data came from various sources. One source was a social-roles test in which doll figures were used to simulate real persons. These "persons" were dressed by the subjects, taken to their homes, to work, and so on, with the researchers noting status (or class) differences in role assignments. Another type of data was a social-episodes test, a projective test, which made use of sketches of children at play, at school, and so on. Some of these pictures were clued to race, some to creed. Subjects were asked to

¹¹ Our account is based on Marion Radke (Yarrow) *et al.*, "Social Perceptions and Attitudes of Children," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 40: 327-347, 1949; also a somewhat similar article by these authors in *Journal of Psychology*, 29: 3-33, 1950; and the final book-length report by Helen Trager and Marion Radke Yarrow, *They Learn What They Live*, Harper, 1952.

tell what these "people" were doing, how they felt, and the like. Testing was done in individual interviews, each consisting of two sessions of about a half hour apiece.

Case excerpts will clarify use of the social-episodes test. The test scene shows some little children playing ball. T is tester, S is subject.

Girl, Kindergarten, White, Protestant

T (*showing picture*): Tell me about this picture.

S: Well, they are playing ball.

T (*pointing to the Negro boy*): Tell me about this little boy.

S: He is watching them [white boys] play.

T: He isn't playing. Why isn't he playing?

S: Because he didn't know they were playing and he just came down to watch them.

T (*pointing to children at play*): Why don't they ask him to play?

S: Because I think they have too much boys now.

T (*again making sure that the little girl understands the situation, i.e., white boys playing ball, a Negro boy watching*): Is this little boy glad he is colored?

S: No. Because white childrens don't like coloreds because they fight too much.

T: Would this boy sometimes want to be a white boy?

S: Yes, because white boys do gooder things than coloreds.

This little girl, aged four, seemed at first unaware of race differences but, on being asked direct questions, began to show attitudes of exclusion. Her reasoning appears stereotyped, *i.e.*, "white boys do gooder things than coloreds."

The next excerpt involves creedal differences. The play scene is the same, but all players and the boy onlooker are white.

Girl, Grade 1, White, Catholic

T (*pointing to onlooker*): This little boy is Protestant. These other children are not Protestant. Tell me, what is a Protestant?

S: When you go to a different church than Catholic, and you don't go to church, and you go to Sunday school.

T: Do you know any Protestant children?

S: I'm Protestant. And my cousin is.

T: Is this little boy glad he is a Protestant?

S: Sometimes he is and sometimes he isn't. He sees the Catholics go to church.

T (*pointing to children at play*): Who are these children?

S: They're Catholics. Some days they like to be Protestants, too. They go to confessions and we don't have to.

T: Tell me, what is a Catholic?

S: Means when you're supposed to go to church, tell your sins.

T (*pointing to nonplayer*): Would this boy who is a Catholic want to be a Protestant?

S: Yes, because Protestants have church.

T: Would he like to play with them?

S: Yes, because he likes to play with Catholics and Catholics like to play with him.

This child, a Catholic, was confused about her church identity. It is probable that she distinguishes between Catholics and Protestants, yet she does not imply status differences, that is, that one is better than the other. Put in still other words, she projects friendly intergroup attitudes.

On this episodes test in general, interest centered on changes in attitudes *after* the tester had introduced racial and creedal concepts. In well over the majority of cases, children's views changed toward unfriendly, exclusive feelings. Changes were in degree, as to be expected. Unfriendliness was stronger toward race than toward creed. It was most evident where scenes required only yes or no answers. It increased markedly with age (or grade level). For white children in some pictures, the increase was from 43 to 73 per cent. For Negro pupils, the change toward unfriendly attitudes was somewhat less.

To study pupil reactions further, responses were analyzed in terms of knowledge content. In respect to creed, about three-fourths of the white subjects gave meanings to ingroup and outgroup beliefs, customs, and symbols. Their ideas were clearer about their own creed than about other creeds, though what they knew that was true amounted to far less than the reverse. That is, their errors, myths, and so on, outweighed their facts. A sample will show what is meant.

Boy, Grade 2, White, Protestant

"A Catholic is you are white. You do arithmetic, and you do homework. I know all about Catholics. You see, when you have chewing gum, they put it on your nose. Kids tell me. In my school, you put it in the wastebasket.

"Catholic children go to school. Some of the people on my street is Catholic. They know how to read and make houses, and we don't. All we can do is to make little pussy cats and pumpkins [Halloween]. When you're Catholic, you go to St. Anne's School, and you have to go to church every morning. When you're bad, they have you stay in school till six."

Negro children showed little knowledge of or interest in Protestant religious views. This suggests that race was far more important than creed in their everyday life. The most perceptions, and the most negative, were directed at Jewish children and adults. Jews were seen as "foreign," "not American," "Polish," and "talk funny." Aside from reference to Jewish holidays ["means stores is closed and you can't buy nothin' "], these Gentile children, white and Negro, had very little factual knowledge about Hebrew beliefs, symbols, and practices.

On the doll test, identical clothing had been provided for each doll, one Negro, the other white. Asked to assign outfits to pairs of dolls, all children tended to give the best (or preferred) costume to figures of their own race. In Table 9, the preferred costume is dress-up clothes in comparison to work clothes.

Table 9. Assignment of Preferred Costume, Per Cent of Totals

Costume given to	By Negro children				By white children			
	Kinder- garten	Grade 1	Grade 2	Total	Kinder- garten	Grade 1	Grade 2	Total
Negro doll.....	61	72	79	72	32	40	18	30
White doll.....	26	28	21	28	47	55	63	55

In Table 9, 61 per cent of Negro kindergarten pupils gave the prized costume to Negro doll figures, 26 per cent to white doll figures. The remainder for some reason or other did not assign costumes. What the table shows is the stronger ingroup feelings of Negro children. Own-group preferences tend to increase with age.

Once a child had dressed his dolls, he was asked what they were doing, or where they were going.

Role Assignments by White Pupils

First-grader: (*Gives Negro doll work clothes, white doll dress-up clothes.*) She [Negro doll] could be cleaning. Ladies who are colored are maids. She [white doll] had a child and went out to buy shoes.

Second-grader: (*Negro doll given work clothes, white doll still shabbier clothes.*) She [Negro] a maid. Take care of child. She [white] going uptown to dance

First-grader: (*Negro doll shabby clothes, white doll dress-up.*) She [Negro] a nigger working in house. She [white] out buying food. Comes home to change her dress.

Second-grader: (*Negro doll shabby clothes, white doll dress-up.*) He [Negro] would be digging dirt. He [white] going on vacation.

Stereotyping is evident in the above reactions, plus no doubt some factual awareness of the Negro's average lower socioeconomic status.

Another test given these 250 children was to present each pupil with four houses; two good homes, two poor ones. Over four-fifths of the white subjects gave the poor houses to the Negro dolls, and 67 per cent of the Negro pupils did exactly the same thing. Good houses were given to white dolls by 77 per cent of the white children and 60 per cent of the Negro children.

Coming now to conclusions, the researchers felt that all of their hypotheses were well supported by study findings. They urge that their work be repeated elsewhere. Basic inferences, subject to further check, are these:

1. First years are basic years in personality development. Urban lower- to middle-class children have learned a great deal about racial, creedal, and social-class relations. In short, their intergroup education is well under way.
2. Racial and creedal data were not known to anything like the same extent among the Philadelphia pupils. Many could give no definite content to creed and some could not identify race. Most subjects classified people along vague hearsay lines, stereotyping actual differences. In general, hostile feelings were much more evident than friendly feelings.
3. All test performances corresponded to the kinds of prejudicial behaviors known to exist in the average big-city community. The strong implication is that adults teach children their own viewpoints. First-rank importance in this belongs, for good or bad, to the child's own family.

The Philadelphia research is by no means the first to prove that very young children are aware of racial (and other) differences, that they tend to pick up the area culture about them. Minard¹² showed this, and so did Goodman¹³ in a most suggestive study. For teachers, the obvious inference is that schooling, if it is to be effective, must be started far upstream. Education, or reeducation, in human relations should be begun early and continued over the school-age years.

¹² Ralph D. Minard, *Race Attitudes of Iowa Children*, Studies in Character, Vol. IV, No. 2, University of Iowa, 1931.

¹³ Mary Ellen Goodman, *Race Awareness in Young Children*, Addison-Wesley Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1952.

CHILD ACCULTURATION

By *acculturation* is meant the social processes in which a child learns the culture of outgroups, whereas *socialization* means to learn ingroup culture. We shall not hold rigorously to this distinction since learning processes are much the same. We shall begin now a discussion of this learning and continue it chapter to chapter.

A significant fact about culture is that it precedes the individual. It is here ahead of us, awaiting our arrival. As the real stuff of human relations, culture is the sum of our social heritage, the ready-to-wear garments of our nation's historic past. Child acculturation, or socialization, is the induction of the young into these life expectancies. One is acculturated when he has acquired these forms and norms of living, the group "path habits" of time, place, and social class.

Every complex society faces a great problem in processing its young. Parent interest in a child is, by and large, a bond of sentiment, a tie of love and faith and pride. Not so with society, not to the same extent. A society has work to do, an intricate social system to keep going. Its prime concern with children is utilitarian, a use interest to exaggerate a bit. Young people are valued not for what they are at the outset but for what they are destined to be and become. They are the workmen of society, its standard bearers, its vital seed stock. They ensure its ongoing life, the only life insurance it has.

It is here that society faces a dilemma. Which child is destined to become what? What are this child's capacities, talents, interests? For what life undertakings should he be prepared? Who can know the answer in advance of the individual's performances, choices, consequences? Obviously the thing to do is to wait and watch, to see what happens. But a society cannot wait; its wheels are in motion, so to speak. Thus one can imagine that some guessing must be done, some gambling in futures. Of course, adults have custom to guide them, and they have their own experiences and observations. They have their ambitions, their despairs and frustrations. Many would, if they could, wrap these autobiographies about their young, bring up boys and girls in their own images.

How are children processed? First, *roles* are imposed upon them, adult expectations set up. "Do this, do that," and "No, no, do it like this." By precept and example, by exhortation and command,

by subtleties which escape us, each child is trained in a role system. These initial roles are, to repeat, assigned, ascribed, or imputed. While this practice will continue for the whole of one's life, it must mesh with another role system, that of *achieved roles*. These are the behaviors people work out for themselves, their elective functions. In any dynamic and democratic society, breaks with precedent are likely to be many. In our nation, the drive to get ahead, to make something of oneself, is the basic feature of much human striving.

If the heart of acculturation is role taking, a little more precision should be given to the idea.¹⁴ Assigned roles are based in part on custom, in part on individual characteristics. The latter consist at first of observable data, for example age, sex, race, and family status. This child is a girl, therefore destined to be a homemaker, a wife, a mother, perhaps a devout church member, an active participant in the PTA. That is custom speaking, the rulings society has long ago made. But the girl may decide otherwise, pointing her life toward male pursuits, become a tomboy, move on toward a full-time work career. This would represent her right and privilege in our society, and a series of achieved roles.

LEARNING PREJUDICES

Within the process just described, how do children learn their racial, creedal, and other prejudices? We have never seen anything unique about this, nothing to set it off from other social learning in any basic sense.

A child learns in part by patterning on other persons, by taking into himself the attitudes these others take toward him. He learns to be a boy or a girl, though conflicts in sex roles are not infrequent. He learns to be strong and brave and smart or to be weak, afraid, slow. He learns to like whites if he is white, to dislike nonwhites. He learns, perhaps, to like Catholics, to dislike other creedal groups. If he is Irish, he learns an Irish brogue, Irish customs, an Irish point of view. All this assumes psychological equipment, plus an organic base. It is the "what" of learning more than its "how" that is of present concern, the culture which children acquire.

An adequate theory of how prejudices are learned would take account, we believe, of four interrelated sets of factors. First, there

¹⁴ For exactness, Kinsley Davis, "The Child in the Social Structure," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 11: 218-330, 1940. Role theory can be studied in the writings of Mead, Cooley, Linton, Sherif, the Hartleys, and others.

is the fact of *differential exposure*.¹⁵ On assumption that prejudices are resident in a culture, this would explain who meets them. Who runs with whom? Which parents hold pro and con views? What movies are seen, what stories read?

Second, given similar exposures, why do some children acquire prejudice and some do not? It is clear that personality is involved, that one will need a theory of *personal dynamics*. Whether by way of needs, wants, interests, stresses, whatnot, a student must reckon with the complexities of human motivation.

It is now, third, that a formal *theory of learning* must be fitted into the picture. If learning is "a process by which an activity originates or is changed through training procedures,"¹⁶ how does it take place? Role-playing theory is a sample of current thought about this. Another example is the barrier theory. "In order to learn," write Miller and Dollard,¹⁷ "one must want something, see something, do something, get something." Here is drive, cue, response, and reward. Blockage of direct action triggers off this chain, that is, produces the kind of behavior called "learning."

All the cases in this chapter, in fact much of the entire book, suggest a final factor, if social learning is to be explained. This is a society's *control culture*, the policymaking apparatus great and small. Homes are an illustration, as are schools, churches, and courts. Control culture comprises the conduct norms of social life, and it goes without saying that prejudice and discrimination are resident in these norms. Somewhere, but too far away for us to look at now, there is a power system for enforcing these rules.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Reread the quote from Mead with which the chapter opened. Try to tell what, now, this statement means to you.
2. Do you feel at this point that you "see through" this total volume, know where you have been, the road ahead? If not, turn to Chapter 15 and study Fig. 12.
3. Did the PD paradigm make sense? Illustrate these four kinds of persons by reference to people you know.

¹⁵ A term suggested by Professor Arthur Kornhauser, in preference to "differential association."

¹⁶ R. E. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning*, p. 4, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948.

¹⁷ Neal E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning*, Yale University Press, 1941. See also Dollard and Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy*, McGraw-Hill, 1950.

4. Which of the several research studies in this chapter did you like best? Why? If your choice is the Philadelphia study, one or more members of your class might read the Trager-Yarrow book and then discuss it.

5. How do white, brown, and darker children view one another? Read Mary Goodman's *Race Awareness in Young Children*, especially Chaps. 2 to 6, if you are interested in elementary education.

6. Write a confidential paper, one to be turned in, on your earliest memories about race, creed, and nationality, that is, things that happened to you, how your learning went on.

7. Sum up now what you know or think you know about child acculturation. What can't you as yet see through?

8. Are the factors we have listed really important in explaining how people learn prejudices? Talk them over to see where you and others disagree.

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CHAPTER 4

Teen-age Learnings and Experiences

I think I am a ticket man who's calling tickets, please;
I think I am a doctor who is visiting a sneeze.
Perhaps I'm just a nanny who is walking with a pram;
I am feeling rather funny and I don't know what I am.

—A. A. MILNE

Life is choice, in adolescence especially. Behind teen-agers lies childhood, with memories of simple doings, of apron strings. Before them is adulthood, a privileged status, an inviting quest. A boy, a girl, must somehow take the future in hand, outrun the past, move ahead. But this is never easy, never certain or clear, not even in normal peacetime. In our present changeful world, it is very chancy, a big gamble at best. And so for the child growing into man, there is doubt and indecision, a period of "storm and stress." These disturbances are what parents and teachers call "difficult behaviors." That they are a product of social conditions, rather than of physiological conditions, is a well-established fact.

Our interest is, as usual, in intergroup relations, a small but significant segment of adolescent life. Procedure will be to cite, as in the past chapter, a range of research inquiries, after which we shall go on reasoning about acculturation in teen-age society. We shall pull off the race-creed-nationality line a little to give some important material on social class. Class is, in essence, a status rating, a series of interlocking high to low statuses, hence is inclusive of all ethnic groupings.

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS

In the study below, 735 Catholic children were tested on their associations with and evaluation of Jews. These were seventh- and eighth-graders from nine parochial New York City schools. Schools were selected to represent three types of areas: where Jews out-

numbered Catholics, where the two were about equal, where Catholics predominated. A Grice scale (Thurstone type) was used to measure attitudes, with scale weights on 46 items ranging from 10.9 to 0.4. A high score is taken to mean a positive, friendly viewpoint, a low score the opposite. Data on intergroup association were obtained from a questionnaire.

How Catholic Seventh- and Eighth-graders Evaluate Jews¹

Findings in this study cover perhaps a hundred pages, so that only main points can be given here. Mean score on the Grice scale for the 735 subjects was 6.0, with whole schools ranging from 6.5 to 5.3. Average scores by school districts can be seen in Table 10.

*Table 10. Scores by School Districts**

Schools, number	Estimated ratio of Jews to Catholics	Mean score
1	Jews greatly outnumber Catholics	6.1
1	Jews barely outnumber Catholics	5.8
2	Jews and Catholics about equal	6.5
3	Jews outnumbered by Catholics	6.2
2	Jews greatly outnumbered by Catholics	5.5

* Adapted from Sister Mary Jeanine Gruesser, *Categorical Evaluation of Jews among Catholic Parochial School Children*, Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., 1950.

Table 10 shows no uniform relation between children's attitudes and area populations. Most friendly feelings were found in school districts where Catholics and Jews were about equal in number, and least friendly where the first group greatly outnumbered the second. The community variable, to repeat, was the size of creedal group. Had a dynamic factor been selected, for example, the rate of creedal change (people moving in, moving out), findings might have been different, though this is speculative on our part.

When scale scores were sorted on the basis of pupil association with Jews (close, limited, minimal), no uniform relation was found between attitudes and area populations. This finding held also in an intensive study of the top and bottom 10 per cent of the sample, *i.e.*, children having most and least favorable attitudes toward Jews.

For the 735 grade school children, the distribution of mean test scores was markedly bimodal. Concentrations were near both ends of the scale,

¹ From Sister Mary Jeanine Gruesser, *Categorical Evaluations of Jews among Catholic Parochial School Children*, Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., 1950.

suggesting either a tendency for children to be "prejudiced" or "unprejudiced" or else a defect in the scale.

On the questionnaire, about a fifth of the Catholic youngsters said that Jews did not get along well with other people, citing instances of verbal or other conflict. Many said that Jews "start arguments," "cause trouble," or the like. Religious differences were named as the main reason for intergroup conflict, with Jewish personal habits and clannish social behavior next in rank. Some children limited their answers to "some Jews," "Jews I know." The great majority objected to Jews moving into their neighborhood. Two-fifths of the total sample, varying with schools, preferred to see Jews move out of their district. Over half the sample did not answer a question which asked if they had been told not to associate with Jewish children. Of those who did reply, the majority denied having been so advised.

Only about a fifth of the sample claimed one or more close Jewish friends, although four-fifths said that Jewish families lived on their street or else nearby in the neighborhood. Friend data varied extremely by schools. In one of the nine parochial schools, 3 per cent of the children named at least one close Jewish friend; in another school, 40 per cent named one or more close Jewish friends. Both boys and girls with close Jewish friends made far fewer criticisms of Jewish peers and adults than did youngsters who did not have such friends.

To study stereotyping, some 400 write-in responses were analyzed. Negative evaluations far outweighed positive. Comments most often made remind us of comparable public-school data. Jews were said to act as if they owned the world, to think they were better than Catholics, to get into arguments, to stick together, to dislike non-Jews, to be stingy and greedy. Positive stereotypes depicted Jews as a most friendly people, easy to get along with. They practiced the Golden Rule; they minded their own business.

In general, children's reactions to Jews were judged to be of the "extrinsic" sort, that is, to reflect dominant area culture rather than to be based on personal acquaintance with Jewish individuals. Sources of learning, *i.e.*, peers, parents, church, school, etc., were not studied. No recommendations were made as to changing the present situation since the study was limited to fact finding.

In this research, no connection could be found between (1) the ratio of Jews to Catholics in sample urban school districts and (2) friendly or unfriendly intergroup attitudes. Second, anti-Semitic feelings appeared to be stronger among these Catholic children than were their feelings toward other racial and creedal groups. Third, while children's reactions were in general negative, close interpersonal contacts seemed to make a difference, namely,

to lessen hostility. Finally, the stereotypes uncovered showed no clear church or school conditioning. They were, in the author's judgment, much like the misconceptions to be found among non-Catholic children.

SOCIAL-CLASS INFLUENCES

How does our social-class system influence children? The community to be studied is an Illinois corn-belt town of about 6,000. It has been called Jonesville, Elmtown, and Hometown, in recent fact-finding studies. Its population is very largely native white and stratified into five class levels. About 3 per cent are upper class, 11 per cent upper-middle class, 31 per cent lower-middle, 41 per cent upper-lower, and 14 per cent lower-lower.²

Of the area's 1,800 boys and girls of school age, a few attended parochial school. The great majority went to public schools. Of the 735 adolescents who should have been in school at the time of study, only 390 were enrolled. The others, as data will show, were out on work permits or else unaccounted for.

Status Ratings in Jonesville Schools³

All children in grades 5 and 6 and 10 and 11 (median age 11.3, 16.3) were classified in terms of family class position, as seen in Table 11.

Table 11. Children by Social-class Position*

Social class	Grades 5 and 6				Grades 10 and 11			
	Boys	Girls	Total	Per cent	Boys	Girls	Total	Per cent
U.....	..	..	...	...	2	...	2	1
UM..	6	4	10	6	6	9	15	7
LM..	17	13	30	17	36	52	88	43
UL.....	48	59	107	62	45	43	88	43
LL.....	14	13	27	15	6	7	13	6
Total.....	85	89	174	100	95	111	206	100

* From Bernice L. Neugarten, "Social Class and Friendship among School Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51: 307, 1946.

² See W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, Harper, 1949; for stratification theory and technique, Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America*, Science Research Associates, Chicago, 1949.

³ Based on Bernice L. Neugarten, *Family Social Position and the Social Development of the Child*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1943; also by the same author, "The Democracy of Childhood," in W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, Harper, 1949, and "Social Class and Friendship among School Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51: 305-313, 1946.

Table 11 is read as follows: Of the 174 children in grades 5 and 6, ten are upper-middle-class boys and girls who constitute about 6 per cent of the total enrollment. The most striking fact in the table is the shift in class position from grade school to high school. While over three-fourths of the grade children are lower class, the per cent of upper-lower and lower-lower pupils drops to less than half in grades 10 and 11. Middle-class children make up half the enrollment in these high school grades, whereas these pupils were only 23 per cent of the figures for grades 5 and 6.

Two kinds of data were gathered on these 380 subjects. Friend data were obtained on a questionnaire, with children asked to name school-mates who were their best friends. They were also asked to list peers with whom they liked to play, those with whom their mother would like them to play, and those their mother did not want them to play with. Reputational data were collected via a guess-who form, where pupils filled in the names of pupils who were "well dressed," "not well dressed," "good-looking," "popular," "fights a lot," and so forth (Table 13). Let us look first at these reputational ratings.

Table 12. Pupil Ratings on Character Traits by Social-class Levels*

	Per cent of pupils by class, grades 5 and 6	Per cent of ratings received	
		Positive traits	Negative traits
UM.....	6	19	3
LM.....	17	27	6
UL.....	62	50	50
LL.....	15	4	40

* Bernice L. Neugarten, in W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, p. 79, Harper, 1949.

In Table 12, while middle-class children made up only 23 per cent of the two-grade enrollment, they received almost half of all positive ratings. At the other extreme, 90 per cent of all negative ratings went to lower-class children, a fact indicative of their general status in the school. The even "good-bad" rating given upper-lower boys and girls is significant in that it suggests the ambivalent position of these children in the school, a point we shall comment on later.

In Table 13, the index figures given are the ratios which would obtain if there were an equal number of children in each class position. For example, for every 15 choices of lower-lower pupils as best friends, upper-lower pupils would receive 18, lower-middle pupils 37, and upper-middle 64.

Ratings in Table 13 are, to repeat, the votes children would receive by class levels if the number of voters were equal at each class level. What

one sees is the high predictable ratings of middle-class children on positive character items and, conversely, the high ratings of lower-class children on negative items such as "not well dressed." While good-bad ratings overlap

Table 13. Predicted Ratings of Pupils Grades 5 and 6 When Number of Raters Is Equalized for Each Class Level*

Positive character items	UM	LM	UL	LL	Negative character items	UM	LM	UL	LL
Best friend.....	64	37	18	15	Is not liked.....	9	5	11	37
Well dressed....	93	33	14	3	Not well dressed...	0	1	11	55
Good-looking....	43	27	11	1	Not good-looking..	2	3	10	27
Popular.....	39	15	8	1	Unpopular.....	1	2	6	21
Likes school.....	45	15	9	3	Doesn't like school...	3	3	9	28
Is clean.....	44	16	8	2	Dirty, smelly.....	0	1	7	34
Has a good time...	27	14	5	5	Never has good time..	3	5	4	8
Good manners....	41	15	5	3	Bad manners.....	5	6	5	19
Plays fair.....	28	11	7	4	Doesn't play fair.....	4	4	5	11
Is a leader.....	41	12	5	1	Fights a lot.....	20	8	9	21

* Bernice L. Neugarten, in W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, p. 80, Harper, 1949.

both social-class positions, the trends just named are clear. Middle-class youngsters are, on the whole, a prestigious group, whereas lower-class youngsters are the opposite, admitting exceptions to both rules.

To show now who voted for whom, consider Table 14.

Table 14. How Grade School Pupils Cast Their Votes for Best Friends*

	UM	LM	UL	LL
UM...	120	67	47	22
LM...	40	53	34	19
UL...	12	15	29	20
LL...	7	1	10	40

* Bernice L. Neugarten, in W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, p. 81, Harper, 1949.

In Table 14, upper-middle children voted 120 times for upper-middle children as best friends, 67 times for lower-middle children, and so on. While lower-lower pupils chose one or more friends at each class level, 40 of their 58 votes fell within the lower-class level. In general, these grade school boys and girls tended to name first as best friends persons at their own status level and next to choose individuals at the next rank above their position. An obvious exception was the upper-middle group since there were no upper-class children in the two grade levels. Again

the marginal status of upper-lower pupils is evident in the somewhat even scatter of their votes.

At the high school level, the same type of rating system was found to exist. Figure 5 shows the ratings obtained by tenth- and eleventh-grade pupils as expressed in an MSJ index, meaning "the number of times of mention per subject per judge" (or pupil rater).

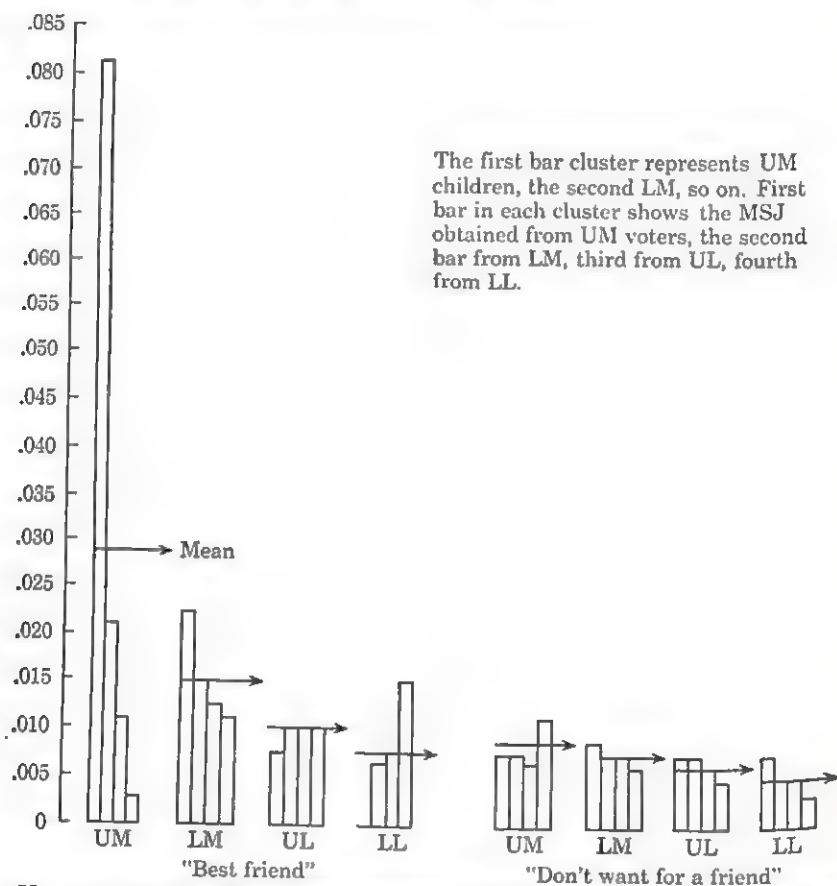


FIG. 5. Votes obtained by high school students (MSJ index) from high school students on "Best friend" and "Don't want as a friend." (Adapted from Neugarten, *American Journal of Sociology*, 51:311, 1946.)

The first set of bars on both sides in Fig. 5 reveals how upper-middle students cast their votes for best friends and for persons not wanted as best friends. The next cluster of bars is for lower-middle students. In each set, votes are expressed as MSJ index numbers, thus making comparison possible. What the chart indicates has already been seen in grade school data, namely, *the fairly uniform correlation between class level and popularity*. In general, the higher the pupil's social status, the more often he is named as a best friend. The reverse is not as true as at grade levels. That is, students not wanted as friends are spread over all four class

ranks, a finding supported by reputational ratings which we shall not reproduce.

The comment just made raises an interesting question. Why do lower-class high school students fare better on peer ratings than do lower-class grade pupils? Two reasons come to mind. Beyond doubt, a process of *selection* has gone on. Of the 735 youth in Jonesville of high school age, Hollingshead found that 345 were not in school. While many of these were presumably at work for pay, only a few held legal work permits. Almost all school dropouts were upper-lower and lower-lower youth.

Table 15. Class Position of School-going and School Dropout Youth*

	In school		Out of school	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
U.....	4	100.0		
UM.....	31	100.0		
LM.....	146	92.4	12	7.6
UL.....	183	58.7	129	41.3
LL.....	26	11.3	204	88.7

* A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, p. 330, Wiley, 1949.

Among the factors closely related to school dropouts are school grades. Table 16 tells the story here.

Table 16. Average Grades of High School Students by Social-class Levels, Per Cent of Response

	100-85	84-70	69-50
U, UM.....	51.4	48.6	0.0
LM.....	35.5	63.2	1.3
UL.....	18.4	69.2	12.4
LL.....	8.3	66.7	25.0
Total.....	23.8	66.3	9.9

* A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, p. 172, Wiley, 1949.

The second reason why high school lower-class adolescents rated as well as they did in the Jonesville High School is that they have begun to *pattern on middle-class models*. They have become upwardly mobile, seeking to acquire new class standards of dress, talk, and action. They have found, no doubt, as this self-education has gone on, that peers and teachers have liked them better. Wanting to be liked still better, they have been motivated to change further their dress, manners, and habit patterns. This is in part the acculturation function of the high school, the socialization of youth.

Students find statistics difficult, a fact that leads us to suggest their study in class from open books. The point of the Jonesville research is that social class makes a profound difference in school going, school life, and out-of-school associations. Time and place condition this influence, so that the study just reported needs to be repeated in many parts of the nation. Ethnic subcultures, including creedal backgrounds, should be taken into account, though even there social-class lines are likely to be strong.

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS

What has just been said has been confirmed in numerous sociometric studies. An exciting example, and a very complex one, is the study of two large Seattle, Wash., high schools, Schools A and B. The first enrolled 1,544 students, the second 1,576. Data were gathered by means of a questionnaire given by all teachers at a specified time, after which cards were punched for IBM scoring. "Ethnic" in this study is used to include creedal as well as racial groups.

Selective Association among Ethnics in Two Seattle High Schools⁴

In studying School A, the aim was to find the extent to which students chose associates in four different kinds of social relations from (1) their own ethnic group and (2) other ethnic groups. Further aims were to determine the relative popularity of the various ethnics, plus the way in which certain variables (sex, age, school year, etc.) were related. The sociometric questions were as follows:

1. Name three students whom you would like to have represent your high school next week at a big national meeting of high school students.
2. If all students were asked to help on a high school picnic, which three students would you like to work with?
3. If you could have a date with anyone in this school, which three people would you choose?
4. Who are your three best friends in this high school (boys or girls)?

The study of School B, made at the same date, inquired into negative as well as positive choices, *i.e.*, persons disliked and liked. It had other novel features which will be seen in a report of study findings. Sociometric questions were as follows:

⁴ George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson, "Selective Association among Ethnic Groups in a High School Population," *American Sociological Review*, 17: 23-35, 1952; also "Inter-Ethnic Relations in a High School Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58: 1-10, 1952.

1. Who are your three best friends in this high school (boys or girls)?
2. It is an obvious fact that we do not like everyone equally well. List here the names of students in this high school whom you don't like so well, wouldn't like to run around with, or feel that your personalities clash.
3. If you think any of the students you listed in question 1 will choose you as one of their best friends, place an X in front of their names.

Here a word should be said about school populations. School A draws students from very different areas, *i.e.*, the city's "skid-row" district to exclusive residential sections. Of the 1,544 students enrolled, 1,360 were present and filled in questionnaires. This is 88 per cent of enrollment. The majority (59.6 per cent) were non-Jewish white; 15.9 per cent were Jewish, 9.6 per cent Japanese, 8.5 per cent Negro, 4.8 per cent Chinese, and 1.6 per cent other. Age ranges were 13 to 20 years, and the sexes were about equal. A third of the students held paid jobs and about two-thirds planned to go to college. A third of the parents were business or professional persons. Ten per cent of the students were Roman Catholic, 43 per cent Protestant, 16 per cent Jewish, and 3 per cent other. The remainder, 28 per cent, expressed no church preference.

In School B, 91.3 per cent of all students filled in questionnaires. More than nine-tenths of these students were non-Jewish whites. Only 44 students were Jewish, 37 Japanese, 28 Negro, 22 Chinese, with 6 others. In all, only 8.7 per cent of School B's students belonged to ethnic minorities, whereas the percentage in School A was 40.4.

To find the degree of ethnocentrism (own-group choice), the Criswell self-preference index was used. This is

$$\frac{\text{no. of choices given to ingroup}}{\text{no. of choices given to outgroup}} \div \frac{\text{no. of persons in ingroup}}{\text{no. of persons in outgroup}}$$

The range of this index is from zero to infinity. A value of 1 on the index indicates that a subject has no preference one way or the other as between ingroup and outgroup. Less than 1 shows that outgroup members are preferred, more than one an ingroup preference.

Findings are much too complex for any full report. In School A, the 1,360 students chose 3,489 friends, 3,432 school leaders, 3,199 work partners, and 2,235 school dates. Work-friend choices showed greatest overlap, occurring 1,010 times. Work-leader overlaps number 632, leader-friend 374, work-dates 259, leader-dates 232, and date-friend 143.

These findings raise difficult questions. For instance, in the work-leader overlap, did students have the same criteria in mind? Perhaps someone who would sweat out a job yet know how to go about it, to get it done? Judging from the decreasing number of overlaps, did different criteria underlie choices? That is, the qualities desired in a leader were not, as a

rule, those desired in a friend, and so on down the line. In general, it was felt that the questions asked in the study did differentiate students in terms of the various roles studied.

Table 17. Index of Ethnocentrism (Own-group Preference) for Each Group in School A*

Ethnic group	Leadership	Work	Dating	Friend
White non-Jewish.....	8.5	8.5	14.7	6.3
Chinese.....	3.2	12.2	34.1	47.8
Japanese.....	2.7	6.2	12.2	53.2
Jewish.....	1.2	3.6	3.7	16.7
Negro.....	7.4	10.6	22.4	66.7

* Adapted from George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson, "Selective Association among Ethnic Groups in a High School Population," *American Sociological Review*, 17: 26, 1952.

Since all preference indexes in Table 17 are more than 1, every group shows a preference for its own members. White non-Jewish students were most own-group minded in respect to leadership, with Jewish students the least so. In all the roles studied, the least ethnocentric students were Jewish boys and girls, the most ethnocentric the Negro and Chinese students, probably the former. Do Negroes, since they are seldom selected, say, as friends by whites, retaliate by not selecting whites? Again, since Jews are very popular in the school, are they friendly in turn to non-Jews? It should be said that the answer to such queries is not known, that further research is needed.

To repeat, Jewish students were highly "others-centered," and Negro students the reverse. Other ethnics varied between these extremes. White non-Jews liked other ethnics as friends in this index order: Jews, 6.0; Negroes, 6.5; Chinese, 18.7; Japanese, 25.3. Japanese were least liked, Jews most liked, and so on, and the dislike-like range would appear to be very great.

All things considered, the greatest cleavage in School A was felt to be between white non-Jews (the majority) and all other ethnics (minorities). For instance, 59.3 per cent of these white students did not name a single minority-group member in any of the four roles. If chance *only* had been at work, 3.7 per cent of these same white students would have made no outgroup choices. This suggests the operation of *strong ingroup forces within the white majority group*, a fact that is very important for any school program which seeks to reduce prejudice and discrimination, to better intergroup relations.

To speculate a bit, it may well be that nonwhite minorities live in a very ambivalent situation. On the one hand, they may desire more con-

tacts with white majority individuals than the latter desire with them. On the other hand, their ethnocentrism may be a defense against possible rebuff, slight, and insult. Much of the data in the School A study, but by no means all data, appear to support this basic hypothesis.

To continue with findings, how do students who make outgroup choices differ from those who make ingroup choices? Of the 28 factors on which correlations were run, the only one found to be highly significant was membership in certain kinds of school clubs, for example, a fraternity. Such membership was, among all students, closely linked with ethnocentrism.

Let us turn now to School B. It will be recalled that this school, in comparison with School A, had a much smaller ethnic minority—8.7 per cent of all students versus 40.4 per cent in School A. While School B students averaged slightly lower in socioeconomic status, the two school populations were felt to be quite comparable.

How does ethnocentrism vary with the relative size of majority and minority groups? One theory holds that the larger the minority, the greater will be the number of contacts with majority-group members. Minority students will be better known and prejudice against them will be less. Another theory states that inter-ethnic contacts will reduce prejudice only if the proportionate number of minority representatives does not exceed a saturation point.

Table 18. General Self-preference of Ethnic Groups at School A and School B*

Ethnic group	General index		Number in population			
	School A	School B	School A		School B	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Non-Jewish white....	6.3	2.3	954	60.6	1,445	91.7
Chinese.....	47.8	52.4	76	4.8	22	1.4
Japanese.....	53.2	34.0	154	9.8	37	2.3
Jewish.....	16.7	19.3	253	16.1	44	2.8
Negro.....	66.4	69.7	136	8.6	28	1.8
Total.....	....	....	1,573	99.9	1,576	100.0

* From George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson, "Inter-Ethnic Relations in a High School Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58: 3, 1952.

In Table 18, the ethnocentrism of ethnic groups has been computed in terms of the Criswell self-preference index. The table is read in the same way as was Table 17, the higher the index the more the ethnocentrism.

Ethnocentrism, or own-group preference, does not differ markedly in the two schools except among Japanese students. Majority ethnocentric

attitudes are somewhat stronger in School A. In an earlier chapter, we called prejudice an "anti" feeling, an againstness. Does minority prejudice tend to increase as the relative size of the majority increases? The Seattle study does not appear to us to settle this. Moreover, as study authors state, size may not be a linear variable but rather may depend on some critical ratio, some saturation point, as certain theorists have said. In any event, it might be inferred from the Seattle situation that prejudice can scarcely be reduced by merely increasing the number of intergroup exposures. Factors other than contact are undoubtedly involved.

In School B, the 1,576 students named 2,573 disliked persons and 4,053 friends, an average ratio of 1.6 to 2.6. While this seems to us a rather high rejection rate, we know of no exactly comparable data. Both school and college researchers have been reluctant to ask any kind of negative-choice question. They hold, perhaps, that it might prove hurtful to "good" group relations if individuals admitted to not liking certain persons. There is every reason to think that this is overly cautious, that attitudes are nowise as easy to change.

Another line of inquiry concerned student popularity. Students who were chosen six times or more as liked were compared with those chosen six times or more as disliked. In general, boys were more popular than girls. Freshmen were heavily underchosen, with juniors and seniors being the high-rated groups. Protestants were overchosen both as friends and as not liked, and Catholics were overchosen as not liked. Half of all friend choices were reciprocated within the student's own ethnic group, while only 4 per cent of the dislikes were mutual.

Finally, in the School B study there was the question of whether students could predict their own social standing. It was assumed that correct knowledge of the attitudes of others toward one shows that he lives in a world of objective reality, thus is a mark of a well-adjusted personality. Failure to know these attitudes, with a consequent distortion of one's status, is a symptom of maladjustment.

In Table 19, 4,053 friend choices are reported. About the same number of reciprocations (correct predictions) occurred as were expected, *i.e.*, 2,077 expected and 1,979 received. But this does not mean that nearly all the guesses students made were correct. The table shows that in a third of their guesses ($17.4 + 15.0 = 32.4$) students were wrong. Who guessed right and who guessed wrong? Girls were a bit more accurate than boys. Right guessing increased with subject age and grade, peaked for juniors, fell slightly for seniors. Fraternity members were more correct predictors than other students, both expecting and receiving more than their average share of friend choices. Ethnicity had little bearing on this study issue.

For all students, the best adjusted were those who expected to be and

Table 19. Friend Choices by Whether or Not Reciprocation Was Expected and Received*

	Reciprocation received		Reciprocation not received		Total	Per cent
	Num-ber	Per cent	Num-ber	Per cent		
Reciprocation expected	1,371	33.8	706	17.4	2,077	51.2
Reciprocation not expected	608	15.0	1,368	33.8	1,976	48.8
Total	1,979	48.8	2,074	51.2	4,053	100.0

* From George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson, "Inter-Ethnic Relations in a High School Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58:9, 1952.

were chosen as friends by friends whom they chose. Over a third of School B students fell into this well-adjusted category. The maladjusted were believed to be students who (1) were overconfident, expecting reciprocations which they did not get and (2) those not liked by the friends they named. About 17 per cent of the sample were in the first category, 1.9 per cent in the second.

Among the conclusions drawn by the authors of the School A and School B data, four seemed to us the most important.

1. There is probably no such thing as ethnocentrism (or prejudice) in general. Where these feelings exist, they are directed toward fairly specific intergroup situations, for example, against the Negro student in athletics and the Jewish student in competition for scholastic grades and honors.
2. Prejudice characterizes both majority and minority groups, though this is perhaps less true of Jewish students than of any other students. It is often stronger among minorities than majorities, though cause-effect-cause would be difficult to untangle.
3. While white non-Jews showed strong ethnocentric feelings toward all ethnic minorities, this same white group exhibited similar feelings toward kinds and classes of its own ingroup members.
4. How prejudiced persons differ from the nonprejudiced needs much further study. Research should be directed not only toward the pathological personality, as in current studies of the authoritarian personality, but toward normal persons. An important question is the degree of ingroupness which a society regards as basic to the preservation of its free-choice mode of life.

Our students regard this study as hard to understand, yet they admit that extra effort put on it is very profitable. While work like

this is usually too involved for an individual student to undertake, the Seattle findings need general confirmation. We shall not review here what has been said but rather look at three of the study's many implications. (1) Are campaigns by minority groups, or on their behalf, to end prejudice really justified in view of the fact that minorities show prejudice against minorities as well as against majority-group members? What theory of cause-effect-cause would account for this? (2) Should programs to end prejudice and discrimination be directed not only toward intergroup relations but also toward majority *intragroup* behaviors, those based mostly, we guess, on social-class differences? (3) What about the right of selective association? How far can one go with this principle? Where does it run counter to some other democratic value?

ANGLO-MEXICAN CONFLICT

We had thought here to write a section on Negro youth, but there is not the space.⁵ Instead, a very brief report will be given on some Anglo-Mexican relations in 42 Arizona high schools. This was a questionnaire survey, a common type of school inquiry. In five-sixths of the schools, half the students or more were Anglos. Most minority students were Mexican, after which came Negro and Indian.

Survey Findings, Arizona High Schools⁶

Within these 42 schools, the most obvious intergroup cleavages were along racial and national-culture lines. Racial tensions were reported by half the schools, with 10 per cent affirming no serious conflicts. The most common conflicts occurred in adolescent friend choices, clique groupings, and extracurricular activities. Anglo boys especially resented the dating of Anglo girls by Mexican boys.

Four-fifths of the schools collected incidents of overt conflicts, for example, gang fights among Anglo, Mexican, and other youth. Lines were most tightly drawn at school dances, school parties, and in class offices. Few Mexican students had ever held important class offices, won athletic, scholastic, or other school honors.

Most schools reported no group against which the faculty had strong dislike. Mexican students were most likely to be disadvantaged in terms

⁵ Good case materials on Negro adolescents are found in Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage*, American Council on Education, 1940.

⁶ From Irma Wilson, in Cook (ed.), *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, pp. 340-342, American Council on Education, 1950.

of teacher attitudes and expectations. About 40 per cent of the school heads objected to hiring Japanese-American teachers, and a fifth to Mexican-American teachers.

Only very few schools had made any special effort to solve their intergroup problems. Most common steps were efforts to secure parental cooperation, to develop public good will, to better faculty understandings. A third of the respondents felt that lack of school activity in intergroup education was due, in the main, to parental opposition, a fifth to community pressures. Fifteen per cent cited faculty unconcern and inertia.

All the schools studied claimed to look to colleges for teachers who were prepared to teach subjects with a human-relations emphasis. All school administrators said they wanted young teachers who had experience in working with children in social situations outside the school.

In a study of Anglo and Spanish children, aged four, eight, and twelve years, at Flagstaff, Arizona, Johnson⁷ used a colored-picture-type projective test. He reports prejudice (aggression-frustration) on both sides of the line. In general, Anglos were the aggressors, with Spanish adjustive, a finding believed to show that "the instilled attitude of one group may contribute toward the attitudes of the other group." Anglos were less optimistic about a change for the better in intergroup relations than were the Spanish children.

SECOND-GENERATION PROBLEMS

While this topic will be treated more fully in Chapter 6, it should also be given some study here. With these children, sons and daughters of alien and mixed parentage, culture conflict may be severe. A child's first heritages are home customs, the Old World ways about him, including his initial language. Soon, in the normal run of experience, he begins to learn American ways. He must, in theory, make choices or else live in indecision, which is itself a kind of choice. There is always the problem of marginal status, the ambivalent pressures of conflicting cultures.

In studying New Haven, Conn., Italians and their children, Child lived for a year in area homes and took active part in area life. He was accepted as a friendly, trustworthy student who was engaged in university research. These Italians were southern

⁷ G. B. Johnson, "Origin and Development of Spanish Attitudes toward the Anglo and Anglo Attitudes toward the Spanish," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 41: 428-439, 1950.

Italians, thus to be distinguished from those who come from industrial northern Italy.

*Italian-Americans**

What are an adolescent's Old World heritages and what adjustment problems do they pose? Let us list a number of these heritages and then look at the major ways of adjusting to culture conflict.

Communication is of basic significance. In the old country, Italians speak a number of dialects. Many adults did not go to school long enough to learn standard Italian; thus they teach a dialect to their children. In the United States, these dialects modify one another and pick up English idioms. Most Italian adolescents are bilingual, having learned some mother tongue along with their school English. Many words do not translate readily; that is, there is no exact equivalent in another tongue. Gestures are used a great deal in Italian talk.

Food habits are a basic heritage, one very resistant to change. Italian cooking varies in many ways from the average (*sic*) American cuisine. Family life is another lasting influence on Italian-American youth. As a rule, the child is reared in a close-knit patriarchal family, where the father's word is law. In the past, the father's rule over youth has been very great at least until the boy or girl marries, after which it may be kept to a limited degree.

In sex mores, it is impossible to define any precise American standard, so that an intergroup comparison is difficult. In southern Italian culture, there is a taboo on any show of affection between adult marriage mates, a custom that does not apply to parent-child relations. Under crowded living conditions, children observe adult sex practices, though parents seldom discuss sex with them. Marriage is a festive event, assembling relatives and friends.

Economic life differs from that of southern Italy. As a rule, the level of living is higher in America, family income is greater, the accumulation of modest wealth is easier. Parents, who have been farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, tend to do factory work or to open a small business. While children are expected to follow parental example, many prefer some service profession.

In recreation, Italian males frequent their ethnic clubs and societies, taverns and cafés. Women also have their organizations, though both sexes spend much time in interfamily visiting. Italian music, songs, games, and dancing are enjoyed by young and old, though many children say they have more fun playing such games as baseball and attending movies.

* Based on Irwin L. Child, *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict*, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1943.

It is unusual to find a southern Italian who is not Catholic. Church-going is common, though perhaps declining. While young Italian-Americans are often firm in their faith, they can also be critical of their priests. If they want to marry outside their ingroup, they find the church aligned with their parents in opposition to the union.

New Haven Italians are, by and large, a lower-class group. Long-settled Yankees hold top status, with northern and western European stocks next, southern and eastern (including Italians) third, and non-white ethnics a distant last. Whereas elders may regard their socioeconomic position as rather unalterable, the same cannot be said of the young. These latter have been fairly mobile in New Haven, advancing faster than, to make a comparison, the Poles. Out-marriages are increasing, which is perhaps the best-known index of assimilation.

From extensive life history data, along with observation, Child defined three types of personality in reference to culture conflict. The *rebel type* wants to be wholly free of Old World heritages, to be fully accepted as an American. He calls himself an American, thinks of himself that way, though aspects of his early training are inescapable. To be called a "wop," a "guinea," a "dago," is for the rebel a painful experience. Many of them expressed the desire to marry an Italian-American, a person who—like them—is in revolt.

The *ingroup type* is, in effect, the opposite of the rebel. The latter's goal is intimate living within the Italian community. Ingroupers tend to identify themselves as Italian, to follow Italian customs, to marry within their ethnic group. In spite of these withdrawing tendencies, they are persons of divided loyalties. There is the pull of American ways, perhaps of American friends, the main reason being the public school. The result is a feeling of marginality, of sitting on the fence.

The *apathetic type* seeks to escape decision, for or against. To him, push-pull forces must seem evenly balanced and, withal, not surmountable. He lives in more than average hopelessness, pessimism, confusion. These persons do not, as rule, defend Italians, for this would show that they are Italian, thus invite outgroup reproach and attack. Yet they do not break ingroup ties, call themselves American. In their conduct, to repeat, approaching and withdrawing tendencies appear rather evenly matched, thus leaving the person with unresolved conflicts.

Always, in our classes, we have found students of immigrant descent. Some of our most pleasant times in intergroup work have come from discussions of their backgrounds and present attitudes. Unlike Child's cases, most of these young men and women seem to have lived near a figurative "middle," integrating their Old and

New World heritages, their home and school and college learnings. Some have serious adjustment problems, for example the prospect of cross-cultural marriage.

ADOLESCENCE, A GENERAL PICTURE

In this chapter, we have reviewed some studies of teen-age boys and girls, types of data which teachers find of use. Before thinking further on race, creed, and national origins, let us try to say briefly what American youth are like.

One source of data is the *SRA Youth Inventory*, a survey check list of 298 questions, designed to get at adolescent needs. This form has been given to more than 15,000 American boys and girls in more than a hundred high schools selected as representative. While findings vary by region, by city, by sections of a city, and so on, some over-all percentages are useful to know.

SRA Youth Survey, 1949⁹

About 79 per cent of the 15,000 students said that they liked school. Nine per cent hated school and 6 per cent would like to quit school now. Over half these boys and girls wished they did not feel uneasy in classes, that they could study better and not worry so much over grades. Almost half found it hard to express themselves in words, and the same number wished for practical work to do. Over a fifth doubted the value of things they had to study, feeling that their learnings did not fit into their present or prospective life.

Up to half the sample checked items dealing with the future. About two-thirds asked, "How much ability do I really have?" Over 40 per cent were concerned about their "real interests," in contrast to tasks on which they spent time. Nearly half the ninth-graders had begun to worry about making a living after high school, and a third asked what people go to college for? Large percentages wanted to know the run of jobs open to high school graduates, the training required for various vocations, and chances of finding employment.

A full third of the 15,000 were worried about war. Large numbers at each grade level said they were "mixed up" about world affairs, asking what they might be able to do to help develop a stable world order. A fourth inquired if there was any way to eliminate slums, and an equal

⁹ From *Examiner Manual for the SRA Youth Inventory*, No. 7 234, Science Research Associates, Chicago. For validity, reliability, and national norms, see this manual. A much more optimistic picture, and also less scientific, is a study of 7,000 pupil essays on religion by E. Pixley and E. Beekman, "The Faith of Youth as Shown by a Survey in the Public Schools of Los Angeles," *Religious Education*, 44: 336-342, 1949.

number wanted to do something about race prejudice. Religion was a source of worry for many of these students. They felt confused about their religious beliefs, had guilt feelings as to conduct, and said they were uncertain about right and wrong.

From 10 to 20 per cent marked items on home and family living. Some spoke of barriers between themselves and parents; others stated that they were afraid to talk with parents, could not discuss "personal things" with them. Many felt that parents were too strict on conduct matters, pried into youth affairs. Dating problems were heavily checked by both boys and girls. From 8 to 17 per cent, varying by school, said that they thought about sex "a good deal of the time." A fourth asked how far one should go in love affairs, and a fifth held that parents were of little help to them on such questions.

To take one other area, that of health, over half the teen-agers queried were concerned about gaining or losing weight. Half the girls wanted to improve their figure; half the boys to improve their build and posture. A third of the total sample were bothered about their skin, chiefly by pimples, and a fourth asked about foods that would do them most good. Sixteen per cent said that their teeth needed attention, and over 12 per cent complained of headaches and colds.

While this by no means exhausts the data, enough has been said to suggest the general picture. Adolescents do live in stresses and strains, tensions which are built in by the fact of growing into culture. In respect to intergroup relations, the survey asked few specific questions. Concern for race and creed have been mentioned, but on the whole the *SRA Youth Inventory* is psychological, not sociological. This is no criticism of it, simply a suggestion that another type of survey form might well be devised.

YOUTH SOCIALIZATION

After rereading the last two sections in Chapter 3, our remarks now might well be called more of the same. Adolescents, as was said, have adulthood well in sight. Countless realities have moved up on them, demanding to be taken into account. Social learning, the kind that makes a difference in human relations, is more urgent, more purposive. This is one reason why so much academic schooling seems to many young people a witless way to spend time.

What must a boy do to achieve adult status? He must, as a rule, leave the nest, start a home of his own. To get married, he should have a job, be self-supporting. With marriage, especially with a

child, there come new community interests, new group roles and responsibilities. Youth live ahead in these vistas, project forward into them. They know better than do some older persons that many things they want come in a single package, that to achieve one goal an individual must achieve others. With youth channels jammed (military service, costs of higher education, job scarcity and/or competition), it is no wonder that many youngsters feel nonplused. Their mood swings are a product of our disjointed society, a condition that varies with time and circumstance.

In the business of daily living, the adolescent's human relations take a significant place. Teen-agers are much more status-conscious than are younger children, much more social-class bound. They are apt to fret over their beauty, their strength and ability, style of dress, the old folks, home backgrounds. Groupness assumes a great importance, especially the reference group. This is the peer group, the age-level culture, in contrast, say, to the teen-ager's kin group, his family. Everyone who is acquainted with these boys and girls knows the strength of their peer groups in shaping member conduct.

For the adolescent, there can be no stronger argument for having or doing a thing than the fact that "all the others are doing it." Nothing is likely to awaken so great an emotional disturbance or cause so much worry as the feeling that he [or she] is in some way "different" from the others. "Others" means other members of his own particular group, for the individual is not concerned about resembling persons who belong to some other clan. A fashion started by a leader of a group, even though it happens to be uncomfortable or inconvenient, is faithfully copied by all the lesser members. Opinions, prejudices, beliefs . . . are likewise determined by the group.¹⁰

The point is that attitudes come from attitudes, that a teen-ager's own groups are a basic source of his racial, creedal, and other views and values. We judge this truth to be implicit in all the studies presented in this chapter, especially in the Jonesville and Seattle researches.

The implications of this point are many. For example, teachers of older grade school and of high school students need to study the extent to which their boys and girls are peer-oriented. It will be found, we guess, that those who are well integrated into peer

¹⁰ Florence L. Goodenough, *Developmental Psychology*, p. 492, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1945.

groups will tend to differ from those who are not. The former want, above all, to be like one another; hence they are group made, group responsive. The latter, the less integrated, are not like this, the difference being of course a matter of degree. They are apt to react in deviant ways to any given set of values, for instance, to discuss their problems with adults rather than with own-age intimates. In short, a study of the highs and lows in peer-group orientation might throw much new light on youth acculturation.

One other point comes to mind, a matter we have puzzled over a good deal. This is the tendency of some young people to fight their parents with intergroup symbols. Our files show numerous cases where boys and girls, while not, say, in love with an outgroup member, simulate this relationship in order to force parents to come to terms. Such doings appear to underlie certain wild or silly youth escapades. The point to check is whether these behaviors would become intelligible if they were viewed as a form of adolescent protest.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Was the Jonesville study clear to you? Members of your college class might write papers on their own high school experiences along this line.
2. At some place in Florida, Winter Haven we believe, the faculty at the high school for whites decided not to let these students appear on the same program with students from the high school for Negroes in a speech contest sponsored by the local Chamber of Commerce. The subject for discussion was "I Speak for Democracy." Argue this question in terms of what you believe.
3. What did you fail to understand in the Seattle study? How would you vote, and why, on the questions we raised as speculations?
4. Do you live in the Southwest or have you traveled there? If either is true, tell what you can about Anglo-Spanish (or -Mexican) relations.
5. If possible, find a copy of a book, L. Silberman and B. Spice, *Colour and Class in Six Liverpool Schools*, University Press, Liverpool, 1950. If this study is available, make a report in class on it.
6. Select a sample of psychology textbooks on adolescence and analyze them in terms of their treatment of race, creed, and national origins.

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CHAPTER 5

College Campus, Views and Values

If we go after the truth about ourselves, we must go after the whole of it—not just that part which is congenial. Truth, we must assume, is ultimately the ally of better human relations.

—GORDON ALLPORT

A college group is, withal, a favored group, a community devoted to the pursuit of knowledge. It has its own mode of life, its standards of excellence, its rewards and controls. In this scholarly world, ambition counts along with brains and industry. Poverty pinches, at least with us it always has, yet its malevolence knows no color line, no creedal bar, no birthplace, no accent. Whatever its effects, they are spread over the campus universe. This, then, is the theory of higher learning in America, as in every democracy. Its great and noble aim is the development of the individual to his fullest capacities.

Within space limits, we shall inquire into this. Who wants to go to college, who gets admitted, who stays in? What is learned in and outside of classrooms about race, creed, and national origins? How do people treat people, feel and act toward them? What is known, especially, about education majors? Do their teachers have deeper sensitivities in respect to human relations than do, say, math or chemistry professors? We admit now the lack of final answers, yet there is much material well worth serious thought.

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS

That our colleges limit student intake along racial and creedal lines, that quota systems exist, has long been charged. It has been said many times in the past two decades at college meetings and

gone undenied. And yet this charge has been hard to prove in factual terms, to pin tight to the ground. The matter is still slippery, though cumulative evidence is building up.

One type of study has dealt with *actual admissions*, students admitted and enrolled. Aside from proving some exclusion, this has not been a very fruitful research lead.¹ Low admission rates for nonwhite high school graduates and, to a lesser extent, for Jews have not as a rule been in dispute. But to what are these rates due? For example, are Negro students rejected because of just cause, say, for low scholastic aptitude? Or is race prejudice involved? Of course, the question makes no sense in those states where biracial education is dictated by law. It should be added that all such laws appear to be unconstitutional, though certain kinds of test cases are still pending.²

Another kind of study has centered on *applications for admission*. In one state survey, to illustrate, college-entrance forms were filled in by 87 per cent of Jewish high school graduates in that year. About 63 per cent of white Protestant graduates and 57 per cent of Catholic graduates made application. Only 38 per cent of Negro graduates applied. If such data are to prove anything about discrimination, college acceptance rates must be known. These rates could not be obtained from the colleges in that state. Moreover, many high school students apply to more than one college, thus further complicating the issue.

In one study of the issue just stated, it was found that Jewish high school graduates averaged 2.2 applications, Protestants 1.3. Among Jewish students, a third had applied to two colleges, 16 per cent to three colleges, and 14 per cent to four or more. The most revealing fact in this study was that white Protestants got into first-choice colleges far more often than did any other kind of student.

¹ Best critical review of state and national surveys in Floyd W. Reeves, "Barriers to Higher Education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 31: 214-224, 1950. A good book to read is Helen Davis, *On Getting into College*, American Council on Education, 1949.

² In 1950, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the University of Texas to admit Heman Sweet, Negro, to its law school. Action was based on the grounds that the law school set up by the state for Negroes was not the equivalent of the University law school. In the same year, the University of Oklahoma was ordered to stop the segregation of Negro students in classrooms. A Negro had been admitted to class but seated in an anteroom. While Federal law and its enforcement appear to be clarifying fast, such cases are likely to continue for some years.

A third type of research has been the study of *application forms*. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith has made several national surveys of these college forms. In 1949, for instance, forms were collected from 518 accredited liberal arts colleges.³ Study centered mainly on the following items:

Questions Asked Applicants, Other Data

Your place of birth	Applicant's photograph
Your race or color	Father's place of birth
Your father's race	Mother's place of birth
Your mother's race	Father's religion
Your nationality	Mother's religion
Your religion	Any change in family name
Language spoken at home	Mother's maiden name
Your school clubs	Church membership

About 90 per cent of the 518 colleges had at least one "potentially discriminating category," the average number being 4.68. Later studies of college forms have showed in every instance, marked decreases in the number of such questions.

What can be concluded from these three kinds of studies? All available research, as Reeves points out, indicates that racial, religious, economic, and geographic barriers to college going do exist. Second, for minority youth in particular, the nation's shortage of educational facilities, the restricted curricula especially in professional training (medicine, for instance), present formidable barriers to hurdle. Third, many colleges have admission systems which lend themselves to discrimination. Certain features of these systems, such as items on the entrance forms, would appear to serve no other purpose.

Whatever the truth of this, a large number of colleges have taken action to clear up their position. In 1948, the first of several conferences was called by the American Council on Education. At this meeting, college representatives, along with leaders in various educational fields, adopted a motion "to eliminate the use of unjustifiable criteria" in admissions. They went on record as opposing "separate but equal" educational institutions for whites and Negroes. They urged that every person be treated in terms of his individual worth.

³ Cited by Arnold Forster, *A Measure of Freedom*, pp. 126-130, Doubleday, 1950.

ATTITUDES AND BACKGROUNDS

Among several hundred studies of student attitudes, the Allport-Kramer survey is still representative. It has had several replications, and its more basic findings have held up fairly well.

The main part of this study is a questionnaire given to 437 students at Dartmouth, Harvard, and Radcliffe. All but 6 of these students were white; 382 were male, 55 female; 210 were Protestants, 110 Catholics, 63 Jewish, with others stating no church affiliations. To make reactions comparable, a prejudice scale (0 to 76) was worked out. Responses were divided at the median point into "more" and "less" prejudiced, thus permitting high to low correlations.

What College Students Are Like⁴

Awareness Test. Twenty photos (male) were selected from an old college yearbook, with an equal number of Jews and non-Jews. After a brief exposure to each photo, students were asked whether the subject was Jew or non-Jew. Students in the upper half of the questionnaire prejudice score (1) named more faces as being Jewish, (2) were more correct in their identifications, and (3) were more confident of their guesses than were students in the lower half of the score. Put in other words, prejudiced persons were found to be more sensitive to facial features than the unprejudiced.

Early Memories. Asked to write of their first experiences with minority persons, white Old Americans wrote most about Negroes and Jews. As prejudice scores increased, so did negative memories. Is memory itself selective, storing up learnings in line with personality bent? Study authors are inclined toward this viewpoint. "One recalls (or invents) early unfavorable experiences in order to justify one's current hostility." To the extent that this is true, any "tell me what you remember" type of inquiry will show more about adults as they are now than it will about their early life. Memory, like perception in an awareness test, becomes a kind of projective technique.

Influence of Parents. A little less than a fifth of the 437 undergraduates felt that they had taken over rather fully the views and values of their parents. Over half said they had absorbed these attitudes in a modified way. Six per cent reported reacting against them, and a fourth claimed no parental influence at all. Students in the top half of the prejudice score

⁴ Gordon W. Allport and Bernard M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 22: 9-39, 1946. The questionnaire is published in this report. A college group can, if students wish, repeat this survey.

appeared, by their own reports, to have mirrored parent views more than did students in the lower part of the score.

Influence of School. Over a third of the sample stated that school had had positive influence on their attitudes, 82 students affirmed the opposite, and 134 could recall no influence at all. Of the first group, about a third fell into the high prejudice score. Of those who said they had not been influenced by school, two-thirds were in the low half of the score.

Asked to be specific about things learned at school, few students could remember anything much. Thirty-one listed scientific facts about race, and eight spoke of pleasant interracial or intercreedal contacts. In general, "children do, apparently, learn something at school that affects their ethnic attitudes, but vivid teaching seems rare."

Age and Sex Factors. At what age does prejudice develop? Of the 355 non-Jewish students, 53 per cent said they felt strong dislike for Jews; and of the 431 white students, 26.5 made the same claim in respect to Negroes. Taking the self-reports of these students, ages at which they first became aware of prejudice were as follows:

Table 20. Ages at Which Prejudiced Students First Became Aware of Their Prejudice*

Age	Dislike of Jews	Dislike of Negroes
2- 5 years.....	1.6	3.5
6-11 years.....	21.8	36.0
12-16	51.6	41.2
17-18 years.....	1.8	11.4
18 and over.....	6.4	7.9

* Gordon W. Allport and Bernard M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 22: 22, 1946.

From Table 20 and other data, study authors infer that preschool years seldom "fixate hostility" on any large number of children. Strong group "anti" feelings tend to arise in grade and junior high years and then to wax or wane according to circumstances. While IQ or class-grade correlations were not made, some evidence in the study suggests that brighter students were less prejudiced than were the less intelligent.

As to sex, more men in ratio to total number fell into the upper part of the prejudice score than did women. Other variables appeared to offset somewhat this finding. For example, the higher the level of parent education, the lower the prejudice score of both men and women students. Students majoring in natural sciences had, on the average, lower prejudice scores than those majoring in the social sciences, arts, and literature.

Outgroup Contacts. When student contacts with minority outgroup members were analyzed, it was found that the amount of biracial or biereedal contact was of less significance than was the kind or quality. The more numerous the equal-status contacts (friends, neighbors, classmates), the less the average prejudice score.

Role of Religion. Asked the degree to which religion had influenced them, student responses were: very marked, 28 per cent; moderate, 41 per cent; slight, 21 per cent; none, 10 per cent. Students who reported marked to moderate religious influence showed higher prejudice scores than did the remainder of the sample. Catholic students led the list in anti-Negro feelings, Protestants were next, with Jews "markedly free from prejudice." Less-prejudice and more-prejudice scores by creedal backgrounds are given in Table 21.

Table 21. Student Prejudice Scores by Creedal Background, Per Cent of Response*

	Number	Less anti-Negro	More anti-Negro
Protestants.....	210	38	62
Catholics.....	110	29	71
Jews.....	63	78	22
No affiliation.....	37	73	27

* Adapted from Gordon W. Allport and Bernard M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 22: 27, 1946.

Victimization. To test the idea that deprivation, thwarting, and so forth, give rise to hatreds, Jewish and Catholic students were asked to tell the extent to which they had felt themselves victims of prejudice. Response percentages are shown in Table 22.

Table 22. Per Cent of Jewish and Catholic Students Who Felt Themselves a Victim of Prejudice*

Degree of feeling	Jews (63 reporting)	Catholics (108 reporting)
To a great extent.....	9.5	1.9
More than average.....	15.9	4.6
Average.....	28.6	15.7
Less than average.....	42.9	27.8
Not at all.....	3.2	50.0

* Gordon W. Allport and Bernard M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 22: 28, 1946.

With both Jewish and Catholic students, the greater the feeling of victimization, the greater the degree of anti-Negro bias, a finding that

supports the scapegoat theory of prejudice. Moreover, Jewish students who felt themselves most strongly the object of Gentile discrimination were more anti-Semitic than were other Jewish students. In the authors' views, aggression is built up in part from persecution. It may be directed toward ingroup members as well as toward racial and creedal outgroups.

Philosophy of Life. Does prejudice stand alone in personality, so to speak, or is it tied into broader systems of belief? Apparently, the latter. Students who viewed the world as a hazardous place, a matter of jungle ethics, were more prejudiced than those who rejected this outlook. The same was true, *i.e.*, there was a higher prejudice score, for students who felt that there was not enough "discipline" in American life. Students who felt in danger of being tricked or swindled in their ordinary dealings with people, as well as those who regarded their own prejudices as "natural and unavoidable," averaged higher scores. On the other hand, students who said they "sympathized with the underdog," or who believed minority representatives were "self-conscious" in their contacts with majority-group members, were low in the prejudice score.

Degree of Self-insight. Asked to rate themselves in comparison with the average college student, subjects who had scored high in the prejudice scale revealed less self-insight than did subjects who had scored low. To a large extent, these poor-insight cases were the students who had denied being influenced by either parents or school. It was concluded that their grasp of reality was not great, that self-criticism and understanding played no appreciable part in their social life.

There is a lot in this study for classroom discussion. Students pick out any number of items of concern to them. While we are told a great deal about *some* students, size of the sample must be kept in mind. Moreover, one must be on guard about memory data, about the tricks of the mind. As an explanation of general findings, the study authors have advanced two theories. One is the tendency of persons to avoid or distort whatever they regard as threatening and the other is the tendency to respond to threat with increased alertness and vigor. Both hypotheses need many kinds of tests.

RELIGION AND PREJUDICE

A puzzling part of the above study, in truth, of several studies is the positive correlation of religion and prejudice. In theory, every religion should teach brotherhood and good will. Creed should be taught so that it will not undermine any other creed, weaken it for adherents. More data by far than we can cite purport to show that church teachings function otherwise.

Several of the Studies in Prejudice at the University of California bear on this issue. A major study is *The Authoritarian Personality*,⁵ in which various sections are relevant. Subjects were about 2,000 native-white middle-class non-Jewish Americans, including college students, schoolteachers, businessmen, day workers, and prison inmates. Questionnaires were used, followed by depth interviews.

In very brief review, subjects who professed some religious faith expressed more antiminority feelings than did those not identified with any church. Variability in both cases was great. Aside from Unitarians and a few small Protestant groups, no creed was outstanding in its liberalism. While frequency of church attendance was not found to be a significant variable, subjects who said they never attended church made lower prejudice scores than those who went to church, a finding believed to be "added evidence that people who reject organized religion are less prejudiced on the whole than those who accept it."

Subjects whose parents presented a "united front" on religion, who were insistent that their views be followed, were more prejudiced than were persons where parental influences were "inconsistent, partial, and nonexistent." Subjects who regarded their church as important to them were "very considerably more anti-Semitic" than those who said the opposite or conceived religion in ethical terms. In general, church membership, participation, and so on, were less significant in understanding the relation of religion to prejudice than was the subject's attitude toward religion and the meaning he gave to it.

In interpreting the above findings, study authors take the view that religion plays "a relatively minor role" in personality structuring. They believe that it has declined steadily in influence, that it has become "neutralized" as a cultural good, a conventional value. It moves fewer and fewer people either toward intergroup hatreds or toward genuine brotherhood. Although "emasculated" in its most basic functions, religion persists in "noncommittal ideologies" about good will which tend "to assume an aspect of rigidity and intolerance such as we expect to find in the prejudiced." The more dubious revealed truth becomes, "the more ob-

⁵ T. W. Adorno *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality*, pp. 208-221, 727-743 ff., Harper, 1950.

stinately its authority is upheld," the more also "its hostile, destructive, and negative features come to the fore."

All this is, if true, a serious indictment of organized religion. The many Americans young and old, who are now flocking churchward as our people have not done for years, are doomed to disappointment, perhaps subjecting themselves to harmful influences. For our own part, let us state frankly that we believe very little of this. We have known too many persons in whom religion plays a basic role in character structure, serves as a moral, humanizing influence. What is needed is further research, perhaps a national study sponsored by creedal groups but conducted by skilled social scientists.

CAMPUS OPINION POLLS

In 1949, the Elmo Roper organization made a major campus opinion poll.⁶ A national cross-section sample of 1,000 freshmen and the same number of seniors was selected, with 50 colleges represented. Unsigned questionnaires were filled in and, as a rule, dropped into sealed ballot boxes. The report below is limited pretty much to seniors.

What College Seniors Say

One line of questioning in the 1949 Roper survey of college campus opinion is seen in Table 23.

Table 23. Senior Views, Per Cent Voting Yes

	Protes- tants	Catho- lics	Jews	Negroes	None
Should be getting a better break than they are now getting.....	3	12	25	70	21
Are getting more economic power than is good for our country.....	3	7	23	3	64
Are getting more political power than is good for our country.....	8	14	6	5	66

The most striking thing about Table 23 is that 70 per cent of the seniors selected as a national sample said that Negroes should be getting a better break. Another significant fact is that two-thirds of the sample felt that no one creedal or racial group was getting too much economic or political

⁶ Made for the Anti-Defamation League. For details, see Arnold Forster, *A Measure of Freedom*, Chap. 8, Doubleday, 1950.

power. The vote on Jews on items 1 and 2 is puzzling in that it looks to be contradictory.

Table 24. Comparative Views, Per Cent Voting Yes

	College seniors	All adults, college, noncollege	Adults with college education
Jews are getting too much economic power.....	23	38	
Jews are getting too much political power.....	6	19	
Prefer not to work beside Jews as equals.....	5	14	16
Prefer not to have Jews as house guests.	3	15	14
Prefer not to have Jews move into my neighborhood.....	10	22	32
Prefer not to have a near relative marry a Jew.....	25	48	52

Judging from Table 24, college seniors are less anti-Jewish than are the cross-section samples of adults with whom they are compared. Most anti-Semitic, especially in respect to having Jewish neighbors, are adults with a college education.

Such data give a picture as of a moment of time. While trend data are needed, they are almost nonexistent. An exception, though imperfect, are the Bogardus social-distance surveys. These studies measure feelings of nearness-farness in regard to associating with people as equals and intimates.

SOCIAL-DISTANCE SURVEYS

In 1926, E. S. Bogardus obtained reactions of 1,725 American adults on a social-distance scale, a type of study he has pioneered. He regarded these subjects as "a roughly defined stratified sample" of the nation, though we suspect the sample may have been loaded with college students. In 1946, a repeat survey was made of 1,950 adults, selected in much the same way. Meantime, Bogardus had revised his test by use of the Thurstone scaling technique.⁷ Table 25 gives a comparison of these two survey findings.

⁷ Still far from a perfect *equi-i* test. For a critique, along with a revision, see A. Q. Sartain and H. V. Bell, in *Journal of Social Psychology*, 29: 85-91, 1949. Item ranges are much the same in the Sartain-Bell form, but intervals have been smoothed and Q deviations are less. A misplaced item has been corrected.

Table 25. Ethnic Distance, United States, 1926 to 1946*

People	Rank, 1926	People	Rank, 1946
English.....	1	American (native white).....	1
American (native white).....	2	Canadians.....	2
Canadians.....	3	English.....	3
Scotch.....	4	Irish.....	4
Irish.....	5	Scotch.....	5
French.....	6	French.....	6
Germans.....	7	Norwegians.....	7
Swedes.....	8	Hollanders.....	8
Hollanders.....	9	Swedes.....	9
Norwegians.....	10	Danes.....	10
Danes.....	11	Germans.....	11
Spanish.....	12	Finns.....	12
Finns.....	13	Czechs.....	13
Russians.....	14	Russians.....	14
Italians.....	15	Poles.....	15
Portuguese.....	16	Spanish.....	16
Poles.....	17	Romanians.....	17
Romanians.....	18	Bulgarians.....	18
Armenians.....	19	Italians.....	19
Czechs.....	20	Armenians.....	20
Indian (American).....	21	Greeks.....	21
Jews.....	22	Portuguese.....	22
Bulgarians.....	23	Jews.....	23
Greeks.....	24	Indian (American).....	24
Syrians.....	25	Chinese.....	25
Mexican-American.....	—	Mexican-American.....	26
Mexicans.....	27	Syrians.....	27
Japanese-American.....	—	Filipinos.....	28
Japanese.....	29	Mexicans.....	29
Filipinos.....	30	Turks.....	30
Negroes.....	31	Japanese-American.....	31
Turks.....	32	Koreans.....	32
Chinese.....	33	Mulattoes.....	33
Mulattoes.....	34	Indians (East).....	34
Koreans.....	35	Negroes.....	35
Indians (East).....	36	Japanese.....	36

* From E. S. Bogardus, *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, 1: 58, 1947.

In Table 25, the higher the rank order the less the distance between the raters, *i.e.*, Americans, and the people rated. Stated otherwise, the more friendly the feeling toward these peoples. In comparing 1926 to 1946 ratings, some changes in attitudes are evident; for example, the Germans have dropped from seventh to eleventh place. The most impressive fact, however, is the relative sameness of positions within quartile limits.

In 1926 the average ethnic distance in the United States was 2.52, as Bogardus notes elsewhere. In 1946 the mean was 2.13, a decrease in ethnocentrism of about 0.02 points per year. Table 25 does not measure annual change or even actual change, for changes occur in more than one direction at one and the same time. What is given are base lines from which net gain or loss can be computed for any of the 36 peoples listed. The table is useful not only as a national-trend picture of the nation but also to permit comparison with local social-distance surveys. These studies are easy to make and college students like to do them.

EDUCATION MAJORS, COLLEGE-STUDY DATA

To education majors, the most interesting test data are likely to center in studies of preservice and inservice teachers. We shall report now some findings from the College Study in Intergroup Relations, though no complete review will be made.⁸

There were 24 colleges and universities in the College Study, 1945 to 1949. These were selected to represent so far as possible and on a judgmental basis all teacher-educating institutions in the nation. Main faults in the sample were two: an inability, after continuous trial, to secure any Catholic teacher-training institution and an inability to travel to the far Northwest. Test scores are spotty since testing was optional. In the last year a battery of six best tests was prepared and offered to colleges. Only two colleges could take the 4½ hours required to administer the battery to student samples. This fact is worth recording as indicating the outer limit of voluntary cooperation in research of this sort.

The AS-20 Opinionnaire is a Likert-type scale. Split half-reliabilities of .76 to .89 have been found for parts of the test, and validity was established chiefly by the "known-group" technique. Items are so ranged that the lower the score the greater the liberal, friendly attitudes and feelings.

In Table 26, 51 graduate students at Atlanta averaged a score 23.4 on attitudes toward Jews, 15.7 toward Negroes, and so on, with a total mean score of 92.0 on this 40- to 200-point test. They were, naturally, most favorable toward Negroes. On the test as a whole, Florida students were least liberal with Moorhead, Minn.,

⁸ See Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, Chap. 3, American Council on Education, 1951.

juniors and Wayne graduates (Detroit teachers) most liberal in their outlooks. Differences between parts of this test have usually not been large and not statistically significant, leading one to suspect the presence of syndromes of component factors.⁹

Another kind of data was sought in the College Study IT-1 Knowledge Test, a hundred-item multiple-choice form. The pat-

Table 26. Scores on AS-20 Test, 1948-1949*
(Possible ranges: 10 50 for each scale; 40 200 for whole test)

College	Mean score				Total
	Toward Jew	Toward Negro	Toward foreign-born	Toward lower class	
Atlanta University: 51 graduate students.....	23.4	15.7	27.3	25.6	92.0
Central Michigan College of Education: 221 juniors and seniors.....	23.3	22.4	25.2	26.0	96.9
102 faculty.....	22.6	20.0	22.3	23.4	88.3
Moorhead State Teachers College: 67 freshmen, experimental.....	28.3	24.0	27.0	24.8	104.9
124 freshmen, control.....	28.6	25.4	28.0	26.1	108.1
67 juniors.....	20.9	20.3	23.3	23.4	87.9
Springfield College: 200 freshmen.....	24.9	20.3	24.6	25.4	94.2
University of Florida: 129 juniors and seniors.....	27.6	31.7	28.7	27.9	115.9
Wayne University: 412 graduates, teachers.....	21.6	20.2	22.9	25.3	89.0

* Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, American Council on Education, 1951.

tern was so designed that if items were scored down the form, answers fell under headings of race, creed, immigrant cultures, rural-urban differences, and social class. If scored across, the categories were concepts, present status, history, current issues, and proposed solutions. Split half-reliability is high (.91), and validity was checked in item construction and analysis. A "known group," the heads of Detroit intergroup agencies and programs, made a much higher score than any other group so far tested.

⁹ Established by Paul K. Hatt, "Class and Ethnic Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, 13: 36-43, 1948.

At Atlanta University, as seen in Table 27, graduates averaged 7.4 correct answers out of 20 items on race, and so forth, making a mean over-all score of 33.2 on the hundred-item test. Highest scores were made, as already said, by Detroit agency heads. What has been suggested to us by our continued use of this test is that

Table 27. Sample Scores on IT-1 Test, 1948-1949*
(Possible ranges: part = 0-20; whole test = 0-100)

Knowledge field	Mean scores						
	Atlanta	Michigan Central		Wayne University			Detroit
	A†	B†	C†	D†	E†	F†	G†
Areas of knowledge:							
Race.....	7.4	8.1	10.0	7.2	7.0	8.4	14.5
Creed.....	8.5	8.4	8.7	12.0	11.5	10.8	11.8
Immigrants.....	6.1	8.2	9.8	11.1	8.9	9.5	13.9
Rural-urban.....	5.9	7.4	9.0	8.4	8.3	9.2	9.7
Social class.....	5.3	7.1	7.7	6.4	6.6	7.7	10.2
Total‡.....	33.2	39.5	45.3	45.1	42.3	45.4	60.1
Kinds of knowledge:							
Concepts.....	6.7	7.0	7.6	10.0	8.2	8.4	8.5
Present status.....	7.5	10.8	11.8	10.1	10.4	10.8	15.4
History, trends.....	6.3	8.4	9.0	9.2	8.2	9.8	10.2
Current problems.....	6.3	8.1	9.0	8.4	8.5	8.7	12.4
Proposed solutions.....	6.5	6.0	7.8	7.5	7.0	7.7	13.2
Total‡.....	33.4	39.5	45.3	45.1	42.3	45.4	60.1

* Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, American Council on Education, 1951.

† Key to the letters: Atlanta University, A = 51 graduates; Michigan Central College of Education, B = 215 juniors-seniors, C = 97 faculty; Wayne University (mostly graduates), D = 63 elementary education majors, E = 77 health and physical education majors, F = 343 from all curriculums; G = 28 Detroit intergroup agency heads.

‡ Part means may not sum to total means because of rounded figures.

education majors are very weak in knowledge content. Comparable liberal arts students make higher average scores, notably those majoring in sociology, psychology, and anthropology. Another use of the test has been as a pre- and end-test measure in our basic intergroup course. We have secured final mean scores in the low 60's for some undergraduates and in the 70's for a number of candidates for the Ed.D. degree in intergroup relations.

COLLEGE FACULTY VIEWS

This title is a misnomer, we admit. If four years and more of College Study experience can be relied on, we will not as faculties take our own tests! Tests are, apparently, for students. At Roosevelt College, to illustrate, W. P. Cortelyou developed a vote-meter test, an electrical dial whereby a group may vote by pressing a button held in the hand. The weight of the requested vote, positive or negative, is registered for all to see. Only 24 members of the college faculty could be assembled for this very painless operation.

We might as well finish this tale with another anecdote. Roosevelt College commissioned the author, then making the rounds in the College Study, to take the machine to any college that wanted to use it. The nearest we ever came to a customer was at our own institution, Wayne University. After an animated faculty discussion, the vote was to table the motion. The test was never taken.

At San Francisco State College, more than anywhere else, the faculty felt the need to study itself. Faculty attitudes are suggested in one section of a scale developed by Professor Don Campbell.

Table 28. Faculty Attitudes, San Francisco State College, in Comparison with Student Attitudes*
(Possible range: 0 to 375)

Attitude	Median scores	
	College faculty	U. of Calif. students
Toward English.....	12.0	15.0
Toward Jews.....	14.0	24.0
Toward Japanese.....	17.0	23.0
Toward Mexicans.....	17.0	28.0
Toward Negroes.....	22.0	34.0
Prejudice score.....	82.0	124.0

* Cited by Alfred G. Fisk, in Cook (ed.), *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, p. 315, American Council on Education, 1950.

Table 28 shows that the faculty was less prejudiced toward every group than were a comparable group of students. Campbell, a sophisticated tester, makes this cautious observation:

As can be seen, there is a clear tendency for the faculty at this college to follow the general powerful prejudice patterns of our culture so far as order or rank of prejudice is concerned, although a much lower degree of

prejudice is shown, at least in comparison with a group of University of California students. Test results for groups of high school students show the same pattern, but also show more prejudice than among college students, hence much more prejudice than among State College faculty members.

The low level of prejudice among the faculty is probably due in some part to the structured situation in which the questionnaire was administered. It was circulated by two known liberals . . . and as part of a study known by the faculty to be directed toward overcoming race prejudice. To a much larger extent, low scores probably reflect the tendency of the college to condemn race prejudice, to select and retain unprejudiced faculty members, and to produce alterations of attitudes in the direction of tolerance.

ASSIMILATION TO CAMPUS CULTURE

It was said at the start that a college is a community, a way of life that catches up and shapes its members. This implies a culture or, put in an action sense, a process of acculturation. While past studies bear on this, we want to make this point very explicit, to emphasize it. Many researches come to mind so that selection is rather arbitrary.

What happens to students who don't rate, don't belong, in the push and haul of campus living? Let us consider some second-generation Greek students at the Y State College, a well-known institution located in a small Eastern city. Y College has about 2,000 students, the sex ratio being about equal. Two-thirds of the students are white, Protestant, middle class, from rural and town areas. The remainder are Catholic, Greek, and Jewish. The study below was made by a psychologist and a sociologist in collaboration. Data come in part from 122 cases of maladjusted students, including far more than a proportionate number of Greek students. Our account is focused on these latter students.

*Greek Student Adjustment Problems*¹⁰

Y College milieu is "a startlingly sharp, consistent core of values" which, per se, creates adjustment problems for all students regardless of their abilities and backgrounds. The dominant tone of campus life is a competition for prestige that transcends anything students have known before coming to college. For the average student, the great long-run

¹⁰ Based on S. Loomis and A. Green, "Patterns of Mental Conflict in a Typical State University," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 42: 342-355, 1947.

value is "career security," the preparation for a lifework, but short-term values are success in social and recreational pursuits. This introduces goal conflicts, for good-time activities may not further career plans.

Since job values are individual and good-time values are shared, the latter tend to set the tone of campus life. Thus, in order, come good looks, "smoothness" in dress and manner, fraternity membership, holding campus office, taking part in sports (men), and dancing well. The only intellectual ability which is highly valued is that of making grades, and this loses worth if the student is a "grind." The small group of "radicals," *i.e.*, intellectuals, common to some campuses, is not found at Y State.

Person-to-person and group competition is more intense, more inclusive, than in the area's high schools. Moreover, at college there is no home, no other community, to serve as a retreat, a buffer against rivalry. The college is the student's community, a daily round of living with one's peers.

In the 40 student cases given intensive study, "every kind" of personality problem was found to be linked with social rejection, plus consequent loss of emotional security. Among minority groups, Greek students have had by far the most difficult adjustments to make. In ratio to number, they have sought clinical help more than any other student. Their value conflicts have been pronounced, a situation due in part to their childhood training and heritages. Their attitudes and behaviors diverge from campus norms, giving these students the unvarying label of "queers," *i.e.*, social rejects or maladjusts.

The families from which Greek students come are Old World emigrants, rural, religious, not educated, and highly organized to perpetuate in America their traditional way of life. The typical family is extremely patriarchal, with manners and morals that differ from American middle-class mores. For example, Greek-American veterans on the campus report that, during wartime, their letters to Greek girls in the area were stopped by the fathers of these girls. These young men had not obtained permission to correspond.

For all their early life, Greek boys and girls have been taught to venerate parental authority and wisdom, to show no interest in the opposite sex until genuine courtship is involved, and to strive hard for career success. On the campus, these and other home teachings are contradicted. Greek students make friends who are not only not Greek but not known to their parents. Dating, dancing, and drinking are expected behaviors. Moreover, these students acquire academic and social training beyond the comprehension of their parents. After a few trips home, even freshmen avoid parental conflict by staying at college as much as possible.

Bilingualism complicates adjustment problems. In all clinical cases, Greek was the first tongue learned, with English picked up at school and

in casual contacts. In some cases, children had been sent to a Greek school for supplementary instruction. While few of these students now have much of a foreign accent, they do have trouble in expressing themselves. In their own eyes and to the campus, verbal difficulties and blunders are signs of mental inferiority.

In respect to career goals, poor study habits handicap these students, along with poor home training and life experience. Their handicaps in social relations are even more evident. "At no time in their high school days," write the authors, "have Greek students been faced with a more undemocratic milieu than at Y college." Only the exceptional individual is free from discrimination. While few clinical cases were neurotic, these tendencies were apparent. Overcompensation in dress, in manners and morals, especially a solicitous overpoliteness, were not uncommon. In the authors' judgment, the exaggerated respect for authority, taught at home, prevented the outward show of aggression by means of which the average student expresses his frustrations.

At Y State College, dominant values were in conflict. Immediate, good-time goals clashed with deferred, career goals. For average students, this presented no unusual or insoluble problem. Some worked it out in one way, some in another, so that over time a campus culture was evolved. For Greek students, any choice of goals, or no choice at all, was difficult, the evidence in this research being the number of these students who sought clinical guidance. Causes of their maladjustment, so far as the data show, were not innate and individual but cultural and groupal. In terms of acculturation, these students failed in measurable ways to get along, to absorb college culture. They were treated, to a variable degree, as inferior and unequal.

Another version of what happens to college students is seen in a study of white Northern students in a Southern university.¹¹ In this inquiry, the Hinckley scale of attitudes toward Negroes was given to three student groups: those from Southern homes attending the University of Alabama, called "Southern students"; those from Northern homes at the same university, "North-in-South" students; and those from Northern homes at Ohio University, "Northern" students." Main findings are seen in Fig. 6.

It will be seen in Fig. 6 that North-in-South students stand midway in attitudes toward the Negro as compared with Northern and Southern students. Mean score of the N-S group is 5.9, of the

¹¹ Verner M. Sims and James R. Patrick, "Attitudes toward the Negro of Northern and Southern College Students," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 7: 192-204, 1936.

North 6.7, and of the South 5.0, with all differences significant at the 1 per cent level. It would appear as though the college had this very interesting effect in changing student racial attitudes, a conclusion which Sims and Patrick confirm by studying a number of alternate hypotheses, including that of selection. This is a significant type of acculturation study and will be, we hope, widely repeated.

The most convincing evidence that college environments change students is Newcomb's so-called "Bennington research." This is a

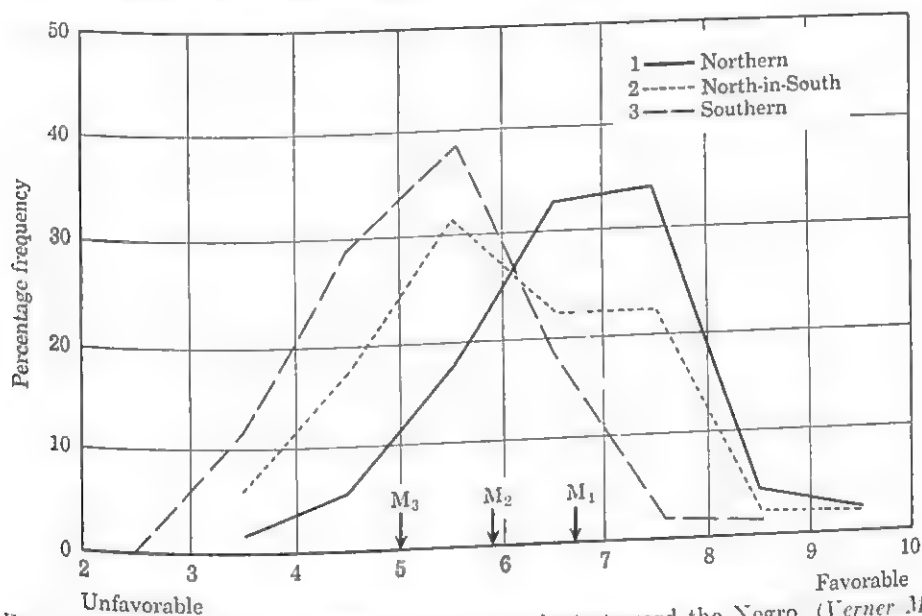


FIG. 6. Attitudes of three groups of college students toward the Negro. (Verner M. Sims and James R. Patrick, "Attitudes toward the Negro of Northern and Southern College Students," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 7: 194, 1936.)

study of an entire college population of about 600 young women over a 4-year period.¹² Major aims were "to determine the ways in which attitudes and behaviors vary with the degree of assimilation." Attitudes toward public affairs, "the mark of a good Bennington citizen," were the point of inquiry. The main finding was an increasing liberalism or, as Newcomb prefers to put it, "a pattern of declining conservatism." To quote:¹²

On the issues studied in this inquiry, Juniors-Seniors have moved much further than have Freshmen-Sophomores, though individual differences are quite clear. In general, the change in attitudes shows a pattern of

¹² Theodore M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change*, Dryden, 1943.

declining conservatism. Parts of the pattern are increasing information, more insight into self and others, and increasing student prestige and reputation.

The unassimilated students, the "negativistic conservatives," were found to be timid and insecure, with small and limited groups of friends. They came to college with few or no aspirations toward social success, an inference based on their failure in high school days to achieve average or better social recognition. Those who were aware of their out-of-stepness with campus views and values were on the average less retiring, less inhibited, than those who felt that their own attitudes were typical. These student "unawares," if the term will do, tended to be plodding, conscientious, unprestigious persons. They had serious trouble with their social relations.

CHOICE OF GROWTH LINES

In closing, we recall three lines from Robert Frost:

Two roads diverged in a woods, and I—
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

Aside from the information packed into these pages, data which students like to read and to discuss, the main point of the chapter may lie in the issue of direction, the lines along which students want to grow, the kinds of persons they want to be. Let us point up this issue for classroom discussion.

From all that is known about youth acculturation, one fact stands out in high relief. It is the simple axiom that once an individual identifies himself with a group, his attitudes and behaviors are, in many ways, determined by the run of group feeling, thought, and action, whatever direction this may take. Of course group members help to make group culture, yet most student leaders, the persons others follow, are middle-of-the-roaders, held in place by their desire for a following. This applies widely to human relations, including the interactions of college majority and minority group members.

In respect to *majority group members*, it is a good bet that most will tend to accept dominant group norms, to model on prestigious figures. Northern students in the South were an example, as were the Bennington girls. At this latter college, liberalism was domi-

nant, and it tended to teach itself, so to speak. In respect to race, creed, and national origins, we doubt if this is generally true of American colleges, in any deep-going way. Put in other words, average colleges are likely to be ingroupish, to draw lines in social clubs and activities against minority members.

If the direction of campus feeling is toward exclusion, *minority group members* will meet degrees of prejudice. It is likely that their campus participations will diminish as students approach the point of free, competitive interaction, the full use by all persons of the campus environment. While this is antidemocratic, hence appears indefensible from that viewpoint, it is a multisided stimulus to these minority students, as the next chapter will try to show.

How *any student* will grow in college is, of a certainty, his choice so far as any choice can be freely made. It will be determined by a host of factors, some within him, some within his universe. Acculturation can be—and usually is—a fairly unconscious process, the pull of the crowd. Or it can be planned for, by design, by deliberate intent. It could be asked, perhaps, that each of us study himself, become aware of the choices he makes. The general problem is to work out, to keep on working out, the meaning of democratic living in a community devoted as is no other place to free thought, free study, free action.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Read the book by E. Havemann and P. West, *They Went to College* (Harcourt, Brace, 1952). What, in general, are college students like?
2. Make a study of admission policy in the college you are now attending. Compare present rules with those of a decade ago. The same kind of study should be made for job placements, including part-time student work.
3. The Allport and Kramer questionnaire (*Journal of Social Psychology*, 22: 10-15, 1946) is available in printed form. You might propose a survey of your own class.
4. What is your present view as to the relation of religion and prejudice? If you wish to know more about the development of religious imagery in children, the study by Ernest Harms (*American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 112-122, 1944) might appeal to you.
5. Are you interested in attitude scaling? If so, compare Bogardus's revision of his social-distance scale (*Sociology and Social Research*, 17: 265-271, 1933) with the Sartain-Bell revision (*Journal of Social Psychology*, 29: 85-91, 1949).

6. If you are interested in the latest technique in attitude scaling, the scalogram analysis as developed in World War II, read a study of attitudes of 2,115 Catholic adults toward Negroes as reported by Thomas J. Hart in the *American Catholic Sociological Review*, 12: 66-74, 1951.

7. What, if anything, impresses you about College Study data on education majors? Read either of the two volumes in this Study.

8. Do you notice on your own campus the clash in values found at the Y State College? Have you experienced it, and resolved it, yourself?

9. What is your stand on the issue with which the chapter closes? That is, how should students in a mixed college treat one another?

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CHAPTER 6

Problems of Minority Youth

The stranger within my gates,
He may be true or kind,
But he does not talk my talk,
I cannot feel his mind.
I see his face and eyes and mouth,
But not the soul behind.

—KIPLING

We have moved in successive chapters from early childhood through adolescence to college years. It would be logical, we felt, to go on to a study of the adult community, the seedbed of our values. When the manuscript was tested in this form, many college students registered objection. In their opinion, our discussion of minority young people had been incomplete. While each chapter carried some material, the sum was inadequate. This is what comes of asking students to react to one's writing, and of course we thank them. The aim now is to try to correct this fault, after which we shall study the adult community.

There is current a viewpoint which says that to be a minority member is to live an unhappy, ineffective life. We do not believe this, yet any kind of marginal status is a fact of significance. It is, for persons we have known, a prime point of reference throughout life, an incentive to effort, a handicap to action. It can be a positive stimulus, a goad to self-development and to significant achievement, or else a block to effort, a catchall for lack of ability, a way of explaining to self and others one's all-too-human failures. That is, minority group membership may work in quite opposite ways, in truth, in many ways. We shall have to limit our interests rather sharply to some few problems of prejudice and discrimination and consequent personality changes.

LIFE HISTORY OF A MARGINAL MAN

To vary chapter material, we have sought a full-length life history of a marginal man, a case that can be given and left pretty much for student reaction and interpretation. James Weldon Johnson's *Along This Way*, or J. Saunders Redding's *On Being Negro in America*, is the kind of writing we want. Hesketh Pearson's *Dizzy*, the life of Disraeli, would do, as would any one of a score of fascinating immigrant autobiographies. Of the dozen volumes tested out in college classes, students like best Meyer Levin's own story of himself.

Levin is an American Jew. He is a man of talent, a well-known writer of fiction, an active figure in national and international Jewish life. He is best remembered, perhaps, for his *The Old Bunch*. While some material will be taken from this study and other writings, our account is based mostly on his recent autobiography, a book entitled *In Search*. Levin was and is in search, the search being to understand himself, to grasp the forces shaping Jewish life and destiny. He is not, of course, the first scholar who has tried to do this.

יִשׁוּעֵר צו זײַן אַ ייד¹

Early Childhood. Born in 1905 on Chicago's west side, Levin's deepest childhood memories were "the fear and shame of being a Jew." Other children whom he knew, for example, Italian children on his street, seemed to make little over their social backgrounds, but not this very sensitive Jewish American boy. As an adult, a searcher after truth, he holds today that the fact of Jewishness has shaped his thought and life.

Levin grew up in a Chicago slum area, the bloody nineteenth ward. Jews had begun to displace the Irish, and they were pressed in turn by incoming Italians, to be followed by Southern Negro migrants. "We children," says the author, "believed ourselves smarter than the wops." Even so, Levin felt a special handicap. "They called us sheenies and kikes with a meaning far beyond anything linked with dago and wop." While Italian and other second-generation children were felt to have nothing to be ashamed of when they grew up, "Jews would still be Jews." Going to school was not unlike running the gantlet, a series of taunts,

¹ This account is based primarily on Meyer Levin, *In Search*, Horizon Press, 1950, a book that should be read in its entirety. Incidental use is made of other Levin writings, chiefly *The Old Bunch*, *Citizens*, and *The Illegals*, a documentary text and film. While our sole aim has been to write about Levin as he wrote about himself, data are greatly condensed and the responsibility for error is ours.

fight, pursuits, escapes. At times, gangs fought with stones and knives, but "Jewish kids were not good street fighters."

After school, Jewish children would go to a Hebrew class. It was following one of these classes that Levin wrote his first short story. This was a fantasy in which an innocent man is sent to prison. The man breaks out and escapes in a passing car, driven by a "beautiful blonde." Levin interprets this as a projection of his own symbolical flight from the Jewish life about him.

Some High School Writings. In high school, Levin wrote stories for the school paper, fiction which he believes typical of anyone "caught in the toils of the Jewish question, the Negro question," the general "wrong-side-of-the track psychosis." *Chucklehead* is an example, a boy who pushes his hero, a football star, out of the way of an automobile, losing his own leg in making the rescue. On the day of the big game, the star gets all the glory, forgetful of the cripple who made it possible for him to play. Again, in retrospect, the author reads this tale to mean that he, the writer, would have given his own leg if necessary in order "to share in the American way of life," the easy comradeship and acclaim of adolescent youth. "I'd still be out of it," he adds, "I'm just not the type," thus affirming the unbridgeable gulf which he feels separates him from non-Jewish persons.

Most of Levin's high school writings appear to deal with a guilt, escapist theme. At times, they plunge into unreasoned self-pity and planful self-destruction. For example, there is the story of a printer who, bedeviled by his foreman, chops off his hand in a giant paper cutter. In explaining his purpose in writing this tale, Levin quotes scripture: "If I forget Thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning. . . ." One might guess that childhood doubts and fears have become embedded in the Judaic historic past, in tribal injunctions against abandoning Jewish heritages, the penalty being the wrath of Jehovah.

As Levin's father, a tailor, did well in his business, the family moved to the Douglas Park district, a better residential section. By now the son was sending his stories to magazines, though "few would buy stories about Jews." He kept writing about what he saw and knew—Jewish needle-trades workers, soapbox radicals, the street life of lower-class Jews. He began to anglicize character names, much as immigrant families were doing in real life.

College Days. On entering the University of Chicago, Levin found students from everywhere. What impressed him most was not course work but rather the opportunity of competing for literary honors. He discovered an "intelligentsia," students who wrote or tried to write and who "preserved a semblance of equality" on a social plane. Fraternities gave him no concern, for Gentiles rejected Jews, and Jews themselves

were selective in bidding Jews. German Jews, south-side and wealthy, kept their "distance" from west-side Jews, though the gulf was not impassable.

Our impression is that Levin was not thrilled by his classroom studies; at any rate he was far from fully occupied by them. He got a job on the *Chicago Daily News* as campus reporter, picture chaser, and later as feature writer of a sort. It was the Loeb-Leopold case, the murder of a boy "for crime's sake," that turned his thought inward, led him to reflect again on the fact of being a Jew. Both Loeb and Leopold were precocious university students, "strangers to their Jewish past," unsure of themselves and their place in a Gentile world.

At about this point, the author undertook a stint of serious reading. For example, he tried to read Marx's *Das Kapital* but found it repetitious, putting it down after learning its main ideas. He felt "no warmth of encouragement" from any of his professors except one, Robert Morse Lovett, a great teacher of literature whom the young writer viewed as a "father substitute." In later years, Levin counts this fact as strange. It was not that he, son of impoverished, poorly educated parents, should pattern on a figure which typified his aspirations, but rather that "this person should be a non-Jew."

Foreign Travel, Religion. At eighteen Levin was a college graduate. With a friend, he worked his way to England on a cattle boat. Shortly, he settled down in Paris "to swallow whole" all the art, music, and literature he could find. He had never read "Homer, the Bible, Dante, Joyce, Proust, Pascal, and Descartes." Making friends with a painter, Marek Szwarc, a specialist in the Old Testament, the author began to study religion, Jewish and Christian. At first, this was an "aesthetic experience," a contact with materials, but soon Levin became aware of changes in his basic views. Instead of being "old country stuff," religion grew into a "force in human life," something in which people in all ages had found faith and strength.

"In Europe," Levin wrote, "I felt the climate of religion." What he saw was how a people (Catholics) brought up in a church, surrounded by its dogmas and rituals, became a devout people, anchored to a sacred heritage. "It was by watching Catholic life in France that I began to understand the Jewish life of the past." With this understanding, there came a new insight into Chicago's west side. "Our parents, trying to adjust to the new environment, were dropping the rituals of orthodoxy." Sacred customs were dying from disuse as age-old motivations fell away. Everything was in flux, in change. He felt that "religion no longer had much to do with daily life, except for greenhorns." These were arrivals from abroad, destined to get lost in America's maelstrom.

After bicycling over Europe, Levin decided to go to Palestine. This was

in 1925 and he felt it strange, "for Zionism was a question that had hardly penetrated to Jews born in America." It was something for the Jewish press, a puzzle in which he had had no personal interest. His visit to Palestine, though brief, was "electrifying." Here were Jews from everywhere who, like early Americans, lived in small settlements, cleared and farmed the land, guarding themselves against hostile Arabs. Most amazing, these Jews felt at home in the old ways, the customs and traditions of the Jewish past.

Chicago to Tel Aviv. On returning to Chicago, the author began a book to be published some years later as *Reporter*, a story of "the news behind the news" in big-city life. After several experiments in writing plays, Levin did a novel, *Frankie and Johnny*, in which he erased everything Jewish in his characters, presenting them as typical American youth. It was a romance of penny pinching, with the couple destined to drift apart. No publisher wanted the book, and it was put in the hands of an agent.

Feeling himself a failure, Levin set out for Tel Aviv, going there to a small *kibbutz*, or settlement, called Yagur. This was a community of 80 in-migrants, living in rough barracks, farming the land, owning produce in common. Having come from impossible European conditions, these Jews resented American Jews—"soft Jews, Jews from the land of riches," an attitude Levin worked hard to change.

"I never knew," the author writes, "what bread was," i.e., where it came from, how wheat was grown, how bread was made. The primitive character of life in Palestine, its roughness, insecurity, novelty, were constant stimuli. Hebrew was learned through necessity, as were various manual work skills. Ingroup relations were direct, intimate, and satisfactory, a contrast to the impersonality and complexity of American life. It was a cabled offer from a publisher that revived Levin's urge to write and brought him back to Chicago.

Reporter was published and very shortly withdrawn on threat of a libel suit, an action the author believes in retrospect that he should have fought. "I had nothing to say because I was afraid that if I talked I would reveal myself a yid from the nineteenth ward, a sheenie who had distressed a nice middle-aged Gentile woman." Again, Levin makes a point of his "unbelongingness," the helplessness of Jews in a Gentile world.

The author's return to Yagur was an occasion. He had gone away and then come back, and he was a comrade. Talk was freer, touching on issues of deep import to world Jewry. For example, should the fact of birth in the United States, in Poland, in Russia, be regarded as a mere accident, correctable at will? Should Jews the world over return to Israel, build a life wholly their own, a new and progressive state? Can one believe in a Jewish homeland, contribute to its development, yet live elsewhere, a

citizen of that country? Levin was to search for years before he found answers that would satisfy him. Days at Yagur were spent in backbreaking work, nights in fending off Arab pilfering.

Events and Writings. Pages of the life history tell now about disorders with the Arabs, hit-run attacks met by Jewish counterattack. Levin's clearest memories have to do with the British. He was "shocked, puzzled, and pained" by their indifference, if not their strong anti-Semitism. It was, the author remarks, "as if one finds that a friend is no friend at all." Both before and after the birth of Israel, the British were felt to side with the Arabs, to deny to Jews the protection to which Great Britain was pledged. It was now that the writer became well acquainted with Haganah, an organization active in the fight for the Jewish homeland.

During the next several years, three events were outstanding. The first was Levin's marriage to a Gentile girl, a union notable from his standpoint because of his continued absorption in the "Jewish question." His reasoning was that "a Jew can feel free to marry a Gentile only when he has fully worked out the role of Jewishness in his life, when he feels secure within his Jewish self." This must mean that Levin's long struggle for perspective had paid off, that he had matured in his attitude toward his own marginality. What of child rearing? "My son of this marriage will, I hope, be intelligent and brave enough to work out his own relationship to Jewishness." He will, added the author, "be given every opportunity to know what Jews are like," to make his own decisions.

The second event had to do with a play called *Model Tenement*, a script submitted by Levin to a New Deal Federal theater in Chicago. The play was in rehearsal when "an order came from Washington to abandon it." No person directly connected with the production knew why, and after repeated trials no one was able to explain the order. After some weeks had passed, Levin received a tip "to go and see a certain Father Giles." Father Giles turned out to be "quite sympathetic." Yes, a member of the cast had spoken to him about the play, mentioning "objectionable material," and he had so notified the city mayor's office. Asked if he had read the play, the priest offered to do so. With the deletion of a few lines, the play was approved as a Federal theater production.

What makes this incident worth telling is the lesson Levin draws from it. "No one in authority had bothered to question what was being suppressed, to read the play. I glimpsed how . . . government could come within government, how a little city hall . . . could strangle action in Washington."

The third event was the publication of *The Old Bunch*, a novel regarded by Levin as his best writing. This was, in substance, a picture of how several Jewish young people, a circle of intimates, grew up and passed into adulthood. It was, the author holds, much like Farrell's *Studs Lonigan*

series. These were stories of "shanty Irish" youth, their second-generation way of life, culture conflicts, and delinquencies.

While *The Old Bunch* sold well, Jewish reactions were fairly critical. The book was preached against as a "degradation of our people." Why, the author was asked in print, "do you writers feel impelled to describe our people in this disgraceful manner?" The reviewer's reference included several novels then current, notably Weidman's *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* and Shulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run?* To Levin, his book was a "warm book about Jews," friendly and well balanced. Out of this west-side "old bunch," there came lawyers and doctors as well as "one or two defeated and broken personalities."

It was now, in the hubbub, that Levin settled a persistent problem. A book about Jews should be a book about Jews, so titled, so written, so read. The counterview was "the less said about Jews the better," a policy the author implies that some Jewish organizations were following. To the novelist, this attitude seemed dishonest and unhealthy. "In *The Old Bunch*, I had found the clear way." What Levin means is that he felt obligated to work directly in the culture of his people, to make his characters real-life human beings, good or bad or indifferent.

Memorial Day "Massacre." Presently, Levin was forced to come to grips with another issue, Soviet communism. While this issue had been felt in Palestine in the small communal settlements, it was to be resolved for the author in America. Though suspicious of any "party line," the writer had joined a group of "progressives" called New America. This group rejected class struggle ideology, holding it was inapplicable to conditions in the United States. While its members did not propagandize against United States communism, they felt that needed changes in worker life would have to come from the workers themselves.

This was about the situation when the Gary "little steel" strike occurred, plus the so-called Chicago Memorial Day "massacre." How much of this looked to Levin, its development and aftermath, is told in his novel *Citizens*.

When the strike first broke out, a few New America members went to CIO headquarters to see if they could help. As time passed and tension mounted, union picket lines were strengthened. Police action increased, violence provoking more violence. As a Memorial Day demonstration got under way, it was rumored that police would fire into the crowd. Newspapermen swarmed in, along with newsreel trucks, to record the battle. Observers were present from a score of organizations—the Civil Liberties Union, a liberal churchmen's league, Trotskyites, Silver Shirts, and so on. "It was," in the author's words, "a field day for agents to the masses." What led the police to open fire, whether an order, a stone hurled at them, or merely cumulative tension, is not known. "Suddenly, little ex-

plosions came, like a chain of firecrackers," with the marchers running and the police pursuing. Ten persons were killed and a number wounded. Medical aid was given at strike headquarters until city ambulances could be summoned.

To Levin, the tragedy became a moral imperative. It was seen as the struggle of common people "to reorganize society so that there will be a greater degree of justice for all." No longer did he feel that he, as a writer, was only a "well-meaning meddler," an uncommitted bystander. He had a job to do, namely, to exploit the situation, to direct mass action. "We acted immediately out of rage," he asserts. Leaflets were printed and distributed, a protest committee was organized, and a mass meeting was called. This committee, in the author's opinion, was the "oddest united-front group ever assembled," including unionists, poets, professors, clergymen, lay citizens, and others.

At a public meeting, the crowd overflowed the hall. A Dr. Lawrence Jacques, a New America member, presented the medical report, showing that almost all the wounded "were shot from behind." A number of the wounded were brought from homes and hospitals to testify. As evidence accumulated, tension mounted in the hall. But the most "terrifying" moment came when Levin showed pictures he had made. "We explained that the newsreels were still suppressed but that we had a pictorial record nevertheless." These were news photos, clipped from papers, enlarged and projected on a screen. As scene followed scene, "I began to feel that I could not control this crowd, that people would burst through doors," do anything in their rage.

These events, along with later United States Senate hearings, were significant to Levin. As "a stranger, an artist, a Jew," he felt fully identified with a great cause, a battle he had been fighting in a foggy way all his life. It was the cause of the underdog, the disadvantaged people, human rights. "The need of the Jew," he writes, "is to melt himself into movements which engulf his own problems," to align himself with humanity as a whole.

Wars in Spain and Israel. Disturbed by what he considered growing fascist and communist tendencies, Levin sought a way to combat them directly. Opportunity came via a staff position on a new national magazine, a liberal and crusading publication designed for mass circulation. As a by-line feature writer, the author was sent to the war in Spain and later to Palestine.

On his ride in convoy from Valencia to Madrid, Levin began to feel the "hopelessness" of the Spanish liberal situation. Later, after several visits to the front, he wrote, "I feel a profound pull just to sit down and say, 'OK, I'm staying [to fight].'" Yet beneath . . . was the bitter, realistic argument: You know the war is lost. You know that no matter what we

do the arms embargo [by the United States] won't be lifted and that, in a matter of months, the fascists will win." Failing to get himself accredited to the International Brigade as a writer, Levin left Spain for the Arab-Jewish war in Palestine.

For a while, there had been comparative peace in Palestine. Hitler's first escapees had been permitted to emigrate, thus increasing the area's German Jews. But just prior to Levin's arrival, these semipeaceful times had passed, ended by Arab bands from Syria under Mufti control. The pattern as described was to attack scattered Israeli settlements, to ambush highways, burn and plunder and withdraw. While Haganah and other units stood guard, there was at this time no organized counter-attack. Negotiations for the peaceful settlement of Jewish-Arab differences were in process, and out of these came eventually the present sovereign Jewish state.

Censorship, Loss of Job. By this time, the magazine for which Levin wrote had drifted toward serious trouble. It had begun as an antifascist, pro-New Deal voice, with half a million circulation. Sales were climbing when, in its fourth issue, the journal carried a "direct attack on the role of the Catholic Church in Spain." The same issue ran a story of a prostitute in Los Angeles, a girl who appeared to be a conventional young businesswoman. "The counterattack," says Levin, "began at once." It was directed toward "magazine vice." Church members were enjoined from buying certain magazines and were asked "to press their dealers to cease handling" these publications. This took place in Los Angeles, cutting circulation sharply, and then spread to other cities.

On the assumption that the sex material was to blame, the magazine editors toned down all such writing. "But the second phase of the campaign now began," with important advertisers canceling their business. At first these losses were charged to summer slump, but "the trickle of cancellations became an avalanche." Newsstand sales hit successive lows, and write-in protest letters increased. The magazine was clearly in hard financial straits.

In desperation, the publisher acted on a tip. He made a visit to some person in New York, a person unnamed by Levin, and returned with "conditions" under which peace could be achieved. First, there were to be no more pro-Loyalist articles on Spain. Second, the magazine would print some articles on religion. Third, writings of "Jewish reds," among whom Levin was named, were to be stopped and new writers found. In spite of Levin's strong protest, these conditions were met and he found himself out of a job.

Fate of Europe's Jews. If a man's years have any climax, Levin was moving into his. The time was about 1940, with the Nazis well under way. As long as we were not at war, the author shared the sense of paralysis so

widespread in the nation. On our entry into war, he applied to various services for active duty but was rejected as overage. He was accepted, finally, for front-line propaganda work, and he left for Europe.

For weeks Levin hung around news headquarters in London, waiting for an assignment. Meantime Tereska Szware, a girl from the Free French Forces whom he had met years ago in Paris, had come to the Allied newsroom as liaison. Some time later, after his divorce had become final, the two were married. After D day, to skip pages in the autobiography, "we psychological warriors" were sent to France to revive their newspapers. His next assignment, however, was up front, sending out material for news broadcasts. Having gotten too far front in the St. Lo battle, Levin was ordered to return to London.

Now came days of mooning about, with "no one knowing what to do with me." Never at loss to make things happen, Levin sensed the biggest story of his varied career. "There was one story in Europe that I was peculiarly fitted to tell," the story of what had happened to the Jews. Almost a third of his *In Search* is given to this topic, details which we cannot really summarize. Day by day, the author moved with United States occupation forces, sending out his eyewitness accounts. He told of Nazi concentration camps, ways of treating Jews, notables who were dead, persons still living, kinds of help needed, the progress being made. "The magnitude of this horror seemed beyond human register," beyond the comprehension of anyone who had not lived through it.

"No one wants to hear these stories anymore," says Levin, adding that "some things must be said, or said again," for they have not been understood. For example, the disintegration of the Jewish community under Nazi rule. "The Germans came," he says, "and told the Jews to organize themselves, to register every soul." From Paris to Lodz, this order was received. Some Jews felt that compliance was the only possible course of action. Others resisted, trying to hide out, to escape, to fight back in some way or other. Among all Jews collaborators arose, handing out population lists, guiding Nazis in their ruthless quest. The spiritual unity of the Jewish community was shattered, "with survivors hurling accusations at betrayers onto the present day." "In the heart of the living," the author notes, "there is today a pyramid of guilt," a doubt as to their right to live when so many have been sacrificed.

Aside from death itself, the most tragic data of all relate to Jewish children. No estimate exists as to the number of Jewish mothers who took their youngsters to local priests, asking that they be placed in Catholic homes and orphanages. While it was not thought by Jews that these children would be converted, Levin holds that conversion went on. "In France and later in Poland," says the author, "I heard instances of grievous strife over these children." In the latter place in particular, Levin

assisted postwar organizations in finding and reclaiming these little ones, often compensating foster parents at great cost.

"I do not know to this day," Levin states, "whether many papers printed these stories of mine . . . but low as the returns might be, it seemed to me worthwhile to send out the truth. I had to write of the Jews of Europe as they were, broken, finished. It was not for me to bear false witness."

Struggle for Israel. Levin now began to urge in writings that what was left of European Jewry, "a half million or so broken, lonesome souls," be settled in Palestine. Had the will existed, he believes, this could have been done within a year and without violence. This would have been small recompense by the world's great powers to a people whose losses equaled those of Allied combat casualties. But no, "a few square miles of desert were debated for 3 years," with issues caught in the swirl of world politics.

At this date, the only Jews reaching Palestine were coming in illegal ships, much as in Nazi wartime. Levin conceived the idea of filming this underground passage, so that the world might understand an "exodus comparable to Biblical mass escapes." To prepare the script, the author went to Tel Aviv, arriving there as British paratroops were moving in. It was war again, British repressions and Jewish reprisals, Arab raids and Jewish counterraid. DP ships were intercepted. Mass search and seizure were mixed with Israeli terrorism in ways that no quick review can elucidate.

It was decided to do two films, the first on Palestine itself. This was to depict the peacetime life of a typical Jewish *kibbutz*, though of course there was no peace at the time. This led to the feature movie (and the book) *My Father's House*, with a strong pro-Zionist tinge. In the second film, *The Illegals*, the theme was the movement of refugees via the underground from Poland past customs and British sea patrols into some port of entry in Palestine. Adventures of the cast and crew in filming this story read like some lurid cloak-and-dagger yarn.

In Haifa, the last parcels of film were assembled. Levin and his wife, who had played the lead role, could hardly believe that the shooting was done. Rolls of film hidden in Paris, in Prague, and elsewhere to avoid confiscation were now at hand, and the job of editing was begun. Part of this full-length movie, including British seizure of a refugee boat, was released as a short for immediate distribution via Pathé News. Its effects on European audiences were reported as "overwhelming." American movie houses were afraid to show this film, the state of public opinion on Palestine being what it then was. "I cabled, wrote, and pleaded," Levin recalls, "while this potent film lay in New York, as effectively withheld from the public as though it had been in our locker in Jerusalem."

As a last resort, Levin threatened to stop work on *The Illegals* unless the short was released. He was told by return cable that this picture was "enjoying phenomenal demand," a report that turned out to mean, when it could at last be checked, that the short was on exhibit at Jewish theaters. It was not being seen by the American movie-going public.

By the time *Illegals* was ready, the war for Israel had come into the open, with the battle for world opinion at its very height. While press reviews of the movie's New York City opening were favorable, counter-propaganda was begun at once. "It had to be recognized," in Levin's opinion, "that people did not want to face reality." As for Jewish Americans, "many would give money, a lot of money, but they would not take the time to understand."

At the UN hearings on Palestine, "it was heartening to see the British view discredited . . . to see British followers deserting." In the end, it was the United States delegate who spoke unequivocally for Israel as a free and sovereign state.

Israel and America. When Levin returned to Israel, the progress of the newly created nation was evident. War damages were under repair, population was increasing, new buildings and developments were planned. Nothing much is said in *In Search* about "internationalization," the UN policy by which Jerusalem is divided between Arabs and Jews, an arrangement satisfactory to neither, nor about recurring bloody disputes. The author speaks with feeling about the rift between visiting American Jews and war-weary Israeli. The former are viewed more often than not as "a crass, overrich people, with no spiritual values." The latter are seen as "a legendary people, poor but proud, Hebrew speaking, an half-Arab kind of Jew."

What of Israel and America, asks Levin in summing up. "On simplest terms, we need to know each other," for these are the two great centers of Judaism in the world. To a Jew, as the author sees it, the physical place of his residence is of no moment, depending on circumstance. But the cultural unity of all Jews, the historical bonds of the Jewish community, need to be kept alive and vital. In these present times, despite mass impression agencies, true intercommunication is difficult. While every Zionist fund-raising agency keeps a propaganda service, "much of the bubbling life of the old-new country . . . never gets transmitted to America."

"Forces of necessity," says Levin, "will drive the two Jewish segments [Israel and America] together," just as psychological factors at present tend to hold them somewhat apart. What of dual loyalties, allegiance to two nations? In Levin's judgment, the problem should not be so polarized. He argues from a simile, a lamp in which positive and negative currents flow together to produce light. So with the human spirit, Jewish

or non-Jewish. It grows by fusing within itself not two cultures but many conflicting points of view.

"Undoubtedly," says Levin, "it is hard to be a Jew." It is hard to be a Christian, a Mohammedan, anything, anywhere. Some things we avoid, he believes, because they are not rewarding. Other things we accept because of their values. To discard Judaism, even if anti-Semitism were also to go, would be "like burning down the house to roast a pig," a very poor exchange. "Anti-Semitism," concludes this clear and forceful writer, "is not to be overcome by getting people to forget us." The task is to get non-Jews to know Jews, to change mythical for true images of them.

Levin started out in life, writes Lerner,² "with a scar on his heart," a Jew in a non-Jewish world, an environment felt to be hostile. Chicago's nineteenth ward taught him Jewishness, equating it with inferiority. This gave the sensitive child a window from which to view himself and other persons, a theme which dominated his writings for many years. Much later, Levin came to project his feelings into great causes—the cause of labor, the plight of European Jews, the founding of Israel. Caught in a culture clash, American and Israeli, the author conceived his role as that of building a bridge between these nations, a bridge carrying a two-way traffic.

Since we want to leave this case to college classes for analysis, we shall make only one further comment. An adult cannot build a satisfactory life on memories of childhood conflicts. What the case shows us is the boy Levin was and the man he became, in all a very remarkable achievement.

CONCEPT OF MARGINALITY

"My fadder, dat dago . . ." said a fifth-grade pupil in beginning a talk with his teacher. By his attitude this boy set himself apart from and above his parents and their world. And yet the point he wanted to make was that "American kids, dey don't wanta play with us Italians." Here, then, are implicit conflicting value systems, the culture conflict Levin speaks of within a different frame of reference. Anyone so mixed up about himself, his self-identification, his group loyalties, can be called a *marginal man*, a cultural misfit or maladjust. To be certain, all persons are marginal

² Max Lerner, in *New Republic*, 123: 19, July 24, 1950.

to a degree, at times much so. They are learning, changing. But the personality type Park defined is not this average individual.³

The typical marginal man is a mixed blood . . . a man who by the very fact of his racial origin is predestined to occupy a position somewhere between two cultures as represented by his parents. If, in addition to this, the two races of which he is a product are so different in their physical characteristics that he bears on his face . . . the evidence of his origin . . . all the factors are present to produce a specific type of mentality, *i.e.*, the intellectual and moral qualities which are characteristic of the cultural hybrid. . . . Much the same is true of the individual who is the product of parents representing two widely different cultures . . . as in the case of Jews and Gentiles, or even Catholics and Protestants.

The true marginal man is on the rim of two cultures, the product of both but at home in neither. He is a person in transit, on the move and on the make. He may go forward into a new way of life, or retreat into old customs, or live somewhere in between the two. In any case, he lives in doubt and tension beyond the normal human lot. To sociologists, this type of person has long been of crucial importance.⁴ It is in him that many innovations have their origin. Pushed by his own distresses, pulled by glimpses of a better state of being, the marginal man is the melting pot of cultures, the agent of social change. Whether at top or bottom in a social order, whether saint or sinner, this person has the potentials of a mass or *cultus* leader.⁵

Park wrote years ago. How have his ideas stood up? A criticism here, a revision there, but his basic view has held. Instead of documenting this, let us turn to some personality problems of much concern to intergroup educators.

PERSON AND GROUP

In College Study years, it was our task to help orient teachers to intergroup thought, to develop a language in which to think. In trying this and that, an idea was hit upon which often worked.

"Poor Johnny," we would say, "nobody likes him because." The idea was to ask teachers to complete this sentence, to tell why

³ Robert E. Park, "Personality and Culture Conflict," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, 25: 109-110, 1931.

⁴ See E. V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict*, Scribner, 1937. First formulated by H. A. Miller as the "oppression psychosis."

⁵ For example, Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer*, Harper, 1951.

Johnny might be disliked. This produced long lists of traits. Johnny was too dirty or too clean, too good or too bad, a crybaby or a tough guy. He talked too much or not enough. When it was clear that traits were opposites, that ratings conflicted, most teachers were ready to view the self as group-related.

We are reminded here of a commonplace experiment. A social psychologist read two case studies to his class,⁶ asking his students to fill in a standard trait-rating form on each case. The first case described a child at home who sulked, fought, bullied his siblings, refused to mind his mother, and so forth. The second case described a child at school—timid, slow-learning, withdrawing, and the like. After the ratings had been turned in, and most of them fell at extreme ends of the scale, students were told that this was one and the same child. The boy had actually showed these polar variations in his home and school roles.

"A man has as many social selves," wrote James,⁷ "as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind." James noted also that we all tend to show different facets of our being, a different I, me, mine, in the various groups to which we belong. Many a child, he went on to say, "is demure enough before his parents and teachers, yet swears and swaggers like a pirate among his own peers." Obviously, the self is social, a group product. It is, in one way of thinking, the control function one exercises over his behaviors, a way of responding to himself as others respond to him. This is what Charles H. Cooley called many years ago the mirrored self.

To get these ideas patterned, we have suggested to teachers that what a person is said to be—kind, unkind, dirty, clean, and so on—is his *status* in the group (or situation) which gives meaning to these words. What the person does, how he behaves, is his *role*, for instance, teacher's pet, a funny boy, a little bully. By reason of his role and status, the person comes to have a *position* in the group. Persons who are positioned at much the same level, high through average to low, form a rank order. In society, this is what is known as a "social class." To each position, *rights* and *duties* are attached, defining authority and responsibility. All of this, and much more, is involved in personality study, including the concept of the self.

⁶ Leonard S. Cottrell, "The Analysis of Situational Fields in Social Psychology," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 370-382, 1942.

⁷ William James, *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I, p. 294, Holt, 1890.

To continue with James's thought, what he called the "splitting off" of selves might be "harmonious" or "discordant," depending on situational factors. In either instance, a person had to manage these several facets of his being, to bring them under control. Here James, with his gift for phrasing, wrote a much-quoted passage. "I am often confronted," he said, "with the necessity of standing by one of my empirical selves, and relinquishing the rest. Not that I would not, if I could, be both handsome and fat and well dressed, a great athlete, make a million a year, be a philosopher . . . but alas! the thing is simply impossible." In such conflicts, a choice has to be made. The end, as James saw it, was the dominance of some one self, a view still widely held in character education.

Since James wrote, other writers have stressed the idea of integrating the various selves. Stonequist presents this view in terms of "group roles," the parts persons play in their various groups.⁸

The concept of role in the group provides a frame of reference within which various personality traits play their part both as causes and consequences of the role. Thus intelligence may help to make an individual into a leader, and the role of leadership may in turn produce certain personality traits, such as self-confidence. But, since the individual usually belongs to several groups in each of which he has a role, his personality has multiple facets. Thus arises the problem of harmonizing and integrating his various selves, so that a stable character and meaningful inner life can be achieved.

WHAT TO TEACH CHILDREN?

The last page or two of theory provides a background, a perspective, in which to face some problems which bother many parents and teachers. One problem—and it cuts deeply into many other issues—is the question of what minority parents (and teachers) should teach young children about their minority status. We specify young children because life itself tends to take care of older ones, to teach them much that intergroup educators try to undo.

To state the problem again, shall this child who is, say, a Negro, a Jew, be taught that he is a Negro or a Jew? Some parents say

⁸ E. V. Stonequist, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

yes, some say no. Some say it depends, and that is at times all one can get from them. Here is a conversation with a Negro mother, a well-educated person.

Q: What should Negro parents teach their children about their minority status? What should parents teach them?

A: Well, it depends. I'd say it all depends.

Q: Yes, I see. What does it depend on? Can you be clear about this?

A: On the child. Each child is different.

Q: Yes. How does it depend on each child? In what ways?

A: On what the child is like. On how he reacts.

Q: Would you explain what you have said? Give me an example?

A: Well, it is hard to illustrate. I don't think I can.

Q: Let me ask this. What can I say, as a teacher, to a Negro mother who comes to me for advice?

A: I'd tell her that it depends. It depends on what the child is like, how the child will react.

To be sure, all good teaching "depends." It depends on good judgment as to learner readiness, need, circumstance. But assuming good sense in all this, should a child be taught his minority role and status?

Lewin⁹ has written as honestly on this as anyone, we believe, though it is not unusual to hear his logic denied, his views rejected, in Jewish parent groups. He reasons first by analogy, namely, what should foster parents do about an adopted child? Let parentage go unexplained? One would hope in this case that the issue would never come up in child life, never cause embarrassment or shame. No, Lewin holds, this is not the thing to do. The risks are too great, with one risk being that of severe traumatic shock. Placement agencies advise foster parents to tell the child the truth as that becomes needful and right. So, this psychologist argues, with any minority member. Tell him who he is, what ingroup life is like.

Lewin's main concern is not with "divided loyalties," or marginality, as seen in Levin's life history. It is with quite a different cause of minority frustration, uncertainty, and insecurity. This is youths' confusion as to their own "primary belongingness," their reluctance to accept identity as a Jew, a Czech, a Negro, whatnot. If ethnic or creedal differences are faced, then Lewin holds that a child has more solid ground on which to stand; that is, *he has psychological support for his social self*, his present and future plans.

⁹ Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflict*, pp. 173 ff., Harper, 1948.

If this is not done, the danger is that the individual will be a fence sitter, a neurotic person, an extreme type of marginal man.

Sociologists have never seemed to us divided on this issue, though we are reluctant now to claim their support because we happen to agree with Lewin. If any truth is well established by cumulative sociological research, it is that an isolated person is likely to be a sick person.¹⁰ He is more often than not a social and emotional maladjust. This does not mean that, to keep mental health, any person should be a member of many groups, or of any particular group except possibly his family of origin. Indeed, not every group would be good for him, and too many groups would be bad. It does mean that unless the individual is fully accepted into some groups, he will probably be a candidate for trouble.

All things considered, we do not see that the issue raised can be settled on an either-or basis. From our standpoint, every minority child should be instructed, under circumstances judged appropriate, in the ways in which he is like other people, that is, an American. He should also be taught the ways in which he differs, his minority-group membership. A Jew should be made a better Jew, a Negro a better Negro, a Catholic a better Catholic, and so on. We can figure out, for our part, no more basic meaning of cultural pluralism, of genuine multigroup democracy. Do we want to rid the nation of minorities? If not, how can they continue to exist unless the young are taught this distinctive part of their free-world heritage?

GROUP CONFLICT AND ROLE TRANSFER

Levin spoke of kid gangs, of gang scraps. This implies ingroups and outgroups, terms introduced in Chapter 1. Let us now give more meaning to these concepts and then present a case which is better than Levin's chance references.

Sumner¹¹ viewed primitive society as composed of very small groups of people scattered over the land. The size of the group was conditioned by its struggle for existence as well as by the inner organization of its life. People made distinctions between themselves, the "we" group, or ingroup, and the others, the outgroups. Within ingroups, the typical relations were those of peace and

¹⁰ Much that George Homans says in his *The Human Group*, pp. 134 ff. (Harcourt, Brace, 1950), is relevant here.

¹¹ William Graham Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 12, Ginn, 1940.

order, law, government, and cooperation. Toward outgroups, relations were usually those of suspicion, hostility, and war. Sumner taught that these two sets of attitudes were complementary, that "the exigencies of war are what make peace inside" the group. The reason is, of course, that internal discord would weaken a people for any kind of warfare.

While Sumner wrote about a tribal way of life, it is easy to see that his ideas carry over to modern times. "The hundred men in that camp," says Pyle¹² about a World War II group, "were just like a clan. They had all been together a long time and they had almost a family pride in what they were doing. . . . Private Wolfson, Sgt. Harrington, Major Robb, had one thing in common with every soldier in the Army—they thought their division was the best!" Or, to quote Mauldin,¹³ "When men in combat outfits kid each other, they have a sort of family complex about it. No outsider may join. If a stranger comes up to a group when they are bulling, they ignore him. If he takes it upon himself to laugh at something funny, they freeze their expression, turn slowly around, stare at him until he slinks away." These are ingroup sentiments, ingroup treatments of outgroupers.

Now, for some good material. The experiment to be reported is no test of race attitudes or the like, yet it will teach any intergroup educator a number of things he needs to know, to know well. The case is a summer-camp project with boys, a study directed by Muzafer Sherif.

*Bulldogs and Red Devils*¹⁴

Experimental Setup. What happens when small groups are brought together under conditions which are frustrating, with one group blaming the other for its plight? This was the aim of an experimental study on which a book-length report has been promised.

In substance, a number of boys were to be selected, equated as nearly as possible, and housed for a period in a summer camp. Following a very brief "get acquainted" stage, two separate ingroups were to be built. After these groups had been studied, intergroup contacts were to be arranged, as specified. If conflict became severe, it was planned to stop it and to unite the groups. The experiment was to run about 18 days.

¹² Ernie Pyle, *Here Is Your War*, p. 122, World Pub., 1945.

¹³ William Mauldin, *Up Front*, p. 58, Holt, 1945.

¹⁴ Based on Muzafer Sherif, "A Preliminary Experimental Study of Inter-group Relations," in John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif (eds.), *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*, pp. 388-424, Harper, 1951.

Subjects, Locale. Among a number of applicants for a summer camp, 24 boys were selected, each about twelve years old. Selection was made via interview and tests so that the boys chosen were as much alike as possible in intelligence, personality, and backgrounds. So-called "behavior problem" children were excluded. All the boys were white, Protestant, and from families of less than average income. All lived in the New Haven, Conn., area but were not acquainted with one another.

The camp was located about 8 miles from the nearest town, in a heavily wooded area. There was level land for team games, a stream for swimming, trails for hiking. The camp had the usual facilities and equipment, including two large bunkhouses and a mess hall. No visitors were allowed and no cars were permitted.

Study Methods. Aside from a sociometric best-friend test conducted as an informal interview, data were obtained by the participant-observer method. For example, the director of the project (Sherif) was unknown to the boys. They saw him on their arrival at the camp as a handy man and caretaker, a role he played throughout the experiment. Two graduate students in psychology, both experienced campers, served as counselors, each having an assistant. Formal events, chance happenings, conversations, and so on, were recorded at odd times and in evenings. Planning was done at staff conferences, usually at night after the boys had gone to bed.

Stage I, Acquaintance. The first three days were a "get acquainted" period. All boys bunked in one large bunkhouse. Each was free to choose his bed, his seat at mealtime, his buddies for work and play. Activities were camp-wide, with the boys doing the planning. A camper could take part or not, as he pleased. Events were of the mix-up type—games, sports, hikes, predominating. Camp duties, for instance, gathering firewood, were shared, the idea being to get the most boy-to-boy contacts. Talk was that "everybody should get to know everybody," a rule which the boys took seriously.

During this period, spontaneous groupings arose. Best-friend tests showed that the campers were clustered in two's, three's and four's. Close living together the clock around revealed individual differences in interests, abilities, temperaments, and the like. All these data were recorded and made the basis for planning the next phase of the project.

Stage II, Ingroups. In this period, all budding friendships were broken. The boys were reassessed and structured, by arbitrary placement, into two equated groups, each with 12 members. These separate ingroups were kept under study for about 5 days, after which the experiment was brought to its climax.

Ingroups were built chiefly through isolation and planned activities. After the boys had been divided in order "to try out some new methods in camping," each aggregate was put into a separate bunkhouse. Each

half of the camp ate at its own tables, did "KP" on alternate days, went on its own hikes and cook-outs. All such activities were left up to the boys, forcing them to plan, to organize. Counselors took permissive roles in all discussions, leaving initiative to the youngsters.

Evidence of group structure appeared at once. One group took the name of the Bulldogs, the other the Red Devils. Ingroup insignia were numerous, for example, the stenciling of gang names on sweatshirts, nicknames, slogans, and songs. "Peek orders" arose, varying with activities, and leaders appeared to be situational products. While no measures of intragroup unity were taken, detailed data show close role integration. In quality, this unity seemed more brittle than Sumner imputed to his societal ingroups, as to be expected. It might be disrupted for a time by competitive struggle, yet each set of campers had a number of ways of enforcing discipline.

Stage III, Intergroup. This was, as said, the climax of the experiment, the basic reason for it. We are not told how long it was to last, only that it had to be stopped in its fifth day. Group-to-group conflict became so intense that the adults in charge took direct ways of bringing it under control. The time remaining was spent in unifying the camp, healing hurt egos.

Stage III was initiated quite naturally in the course of events. Each group had been comparing itself with the other group, of course to its own advantage. Bulldog taunts had been met with Red Devil threats, in fact some "enemy camp" raiding had occurred. Thus, the boys were ready for intergroup activities. A typical day in this period was started with an all-out tug of war, followed by team games such as soccer, softball, and football.

One cannot show in a few words the thought given to this phase of the project. For example, group rivalry was stimulated by a final, grand prize—a four-bladed, bone-handled, all-weather pocketknife for each boy on the winning side! This implied a point system, with scores posted daily on a big thermometer-type register for all to see. Moreover, since in theory one group might take a runaway lead on the other, discouraging these boys, camp duties were also given points. These duties were done by Bulldogs and Red Devils in turn, so that the staff could take or give a little on duty scores. Finally, the whole business was talked up, with much bantering on daily averages.

What happened in these few days would take pages to detail. For instance, the daily tug of war. Photos leave no doubt as to its intensity, and exhortations by both sides are not fully printable. So, too, with the team games and water sports. Name calling and insults went from bad to worse, and as early as the second day, fights broke out. An enemy psychology sprang up, much as Sumner implied, with group leaders plan-

ning strategies far into the night. Gang members were rehearsed in their roles, pressures were exerted on laggards, and deviants were threatened with punishment to bring them into line. Counselor roles were nondirective, permitting each group to make and act upon its own plan.

Intergroup relations shaped up so fast that only one staff event could be carried out. This was the effort to introduce frustration by design, as specified earlier, and under conditions where it could be studied.

Custom was to divide the noontime food on two tables, one table for each group. On a day when the Red Devils (low scorers) were due to come first for lunch, they found their spread of food badly mussed up. Sandwiches were half made, the cake was broken up, the ice cream had begun to melt. Nothing was in order; everything looked jumbled about. The other table, by contrast, was as usual—well planned, inviting to the boys.

The Red Devils took, of course, the better food. They were eating away, suspiciously quiet, when the Bulldogs came in. On seeing their enemies feasting, plus the sorry-looking stuff left for them, the Bulldogs made their feeling plain. Part of their food they ate, part they threw at their grinning rivals. Names passed back and forth, followed by gestures. Dares for fights were made and taken. When knives and cups began to fly, staff members intervened, sending each group on its separate way. With both groups now talking "commando tactics," the director declared the experiment at an end.

Six days remained, and the staff set about integrating the embattled camp. Mess-hall practices were changed by mixing up the boys. Intergroup peace talks were held, and person-to-person competition replaced group games. Best of all, a big field day was arranged, with a softball team from town brought in to play the best team the camp could arrange and train. There is evidence that rivalries died down, that the camp experience ended on a good-time note.

While this project is not world shaking, it is suggestive of much that sociologists know. First, under conditions of relative isolation, people tend to group. Second, each ingroup develops its life, enforces its norms. Third, in competitive situations, especially where *one group feels frustrated by another*, group-to-group relations tend toward conflict, overt and covert. This is, it should be noted, exactly the situation in respect to minorities and majorities in everyday social life. Fourth, within these specifications, it is our hypothesis that ingroup roles and statuses do not transfer to the outgroup. The idea just stated appears to us so important that it should be examined in more detail than is possible here. Let us, however, take a quick look at it.

From birth onward, every child has a role in his family group. He is, we assume, a wanted child, an object of parent-sibling care and concern. His first expressive actions, his communicative gestures, are family taught. But until the child has learned to distinguish *his* family from other families (and groups), he has not developed group identification. This comes as he regards his family as a symbol, a point of reference in self-other relations. When does this occur? "At the age of five or six, a child tends to have group [family] identification. But until he is nine or ten, he is unable to deal with the abstract concepts necessary to understand the full implications of these symbols."¹⁵

Minority youth, like other youth, are trained in family membership. They learn ingroup ideas, try out roles, win status, develop an ever-changing self. They learn the customs about them, normal ethnocentric attitudes. Long before they begin school, they know that there are people "out there," people who differ from us. We saw this, to an extent, in the Philadelphia Early Childhood project, cited at length in Chapter 3. Whether or not ingroup-outgroup cleavage is physical, that is, total exclusion, it is always psychological. It is a "barrier," a "distance," a firmly built-in set of attitudes. It may be learned by children from their own experiences but usually not. Children are told about the world before they see it, or can understand it, and they tend to see it as they have been told about it.

Now, to come to the point. Imagine that a minority child, an ethnic for example, wants to enter a mixed group, perhaps a play group. Whatever this child has been, a leader, a follower, a good pal, an idea man, chances are that he will not be given much of an opportunity to make good, to show what he can do. Outgroupers will rebuff him, as in the Sherif experiment; in fact, they have special ways of dealing with line crossers.

The point is that ingroup roles, especially if they carry high status, do not tend to transfer. Ethnic, notably, meet barriers which they find it impossible to surmount. They can, perhaps, lower their sights, take less than they want, or could win if competition were fair. Time and again, we have seen entry into an outgroup achieved only by acceptance of an inferior role, with a consequent loss of individual pride and self-respect.

¹⁵ E. L. Hartley *et al.*, "Children's Use of Ethnic Frames of Reference," *Journal of Psychology*, 26: 367-386, 1948.

INTERMARRIAGE

It will be recalled that Levin's first marriage was to a Gentile, a union that ended in divorce. College students ask many questions about marriage across racial, creedal, and national lines. These questions persist, even though their parents, the clergy, society at large, may deplore and/or condemn any kind of mixed union. The basic reason for opposing intermarriage has been well stated in reference to Jews.

The one great factor making for group survival is the ability to keep offspring within the group. As between two or more groups, intermarriage is forever a source of danger to the less favorably situated group, since the younger generation is usually anxious to escape the inherited hardship. The severance of relations favorable to exogamous marriage thus becomes the desideratum of every minority.¹⁶

All spokesmen for the Catholic Church whom we have read stress the hazards of mixed marriages, and they note at times their increasing number in the United States. Father Coakley,¹⁷ to illustrate, believes that over many years he has made little progress in his parish (Pittsburgh) in discouraging these unions. In this parish, the decline in 26 years has been from 33 to 30 per cent of all marriages. "Mixed marriages," he remarks, "tend to beget mixed marriages," to multiply within the same family line. "Parental laxity" was said to be "the main proximate cause" of this, the indifference of parents to adolescent contacts which lead to courtship. Both before and after marriage, birth control has been a major issue, plus the bringing up of children at church and in school.

For some years, Landis,¹⁸ a sociologist, has studied the attitudes of Michigan State College students toward intermarriage. In one study, half the 2,000 students questionnaired said that, other things being equal, they would marry into a creedal group other than their own. A third said that they would be willing, if it were necessary, to change to the religion of their wife or husband. Protestants were much more willing to change than were Catholics, and no report was made for Jews.

¹⁶ Julius A. Leibert, "Somatic Jews," *Liberal Judaism*, 13: 59-60, 1945.

¹⁷ Thomas F. Coakley, "Mixed Marriages, Their Causes, Their Effects, Their Prevention," *Lumen Vitae*, 4: 455-463, 1949.

¹⁸ Judson T. Landis, "Marriages of Mixed and Non-mixed Religious Faiths," *American Sociological Review*, 14: 401-407, 1949.

In this same study, Landis analyzed some 4,000 student family histories. About two-thirds of these were cases where Protestants had married Protestants. Of the 1,492 Catholic families in the study, 23 per cent had married outside that faith. In 192 of these 346 unions, each spouse was reported as having kept his or her religion after marriage. In 133 cases, either the Protestant or the Catholic member had changed churches after marriage.

Mixed marriages in New Haven, Conn., have been studied in data going back to the 1870's. Omitting much that is not relevant to intergroup relations, we shall report on one of these recent researches.

*Who Marries Whom?*¹⁹

Race. Data show that racial mores place the strongest, most explicit and precise limits on people as to marriage. While interracial unions are legal in Connecticut (illegal in 30 states), they are extremely rare. There were none in New Haven in 1948. Kennedy's data, 1870 to 1940, show that marital choice is effectively limited by one's race, that *intrarace* marriages are foundational in a caste society.

Religion. Next to race, religion is the most decisive divider of persons into approved or disapproved mate groups. About 91 per cent of the New Haven marriages in 1948 involved persons from the same creedal group. With Jews, the per cent was 97.1; with Catholics, 93.8; with Protestants, the great out-marrying group, 74.4. These figures reflect the comparative intensities of ingroup marriage sanctions, a condition that shows no real change over the decades surveyed.

In Jewish-Gentile unions, it has usually been a Jewish male who married a Gentile woman, whereas in Catholic-Protestant unions, sex has not been a constant factor. Either partner is as likely to belong to one religion as to the other.

National Origins. New Haven was largely British until the 1830's, after which large numbers of Irish began to arrive, followed by Germans and Scandinavians. From 1870 to 1914, some thousands of Polish-Russian Jews and south Italians came. Today the city shows all these ethnic stocks and, of course, their mixed descendents.

In general, ethnicity has been a basic factor in mate choice but within the limits set by creedal groups. Catholics have tended to marry Catholics, Italian, Polish, and Irish. Jews have married Jews, Polish, Russian, or German. Protestants have married Protestants, chiefly British and north-western European nationals. This is what Kennedy calls the

¹⁹ Based on August B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 619-627, 1950. This writer quotes studies by Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy who has pioneered this continuing research.

"triple melting-pot" theory, a tendency toward in-marrying "within three religious compartments, rather than indiscriminately."

Social Class. Taking only *de facto* New Haven residents, marriage mates came from the same socioeconomic "class" in 58.2 per cent of the 1948 cases. Put in other words, equals or near equals tended to marry equals. In another 30.6 per cent of the cases, class intervals were no more than a step apart. In cases where class lines were crossed, men married women from the lower level more often than the reverse.

In general, social class appeared to operate independently of religion, with the class position of parents functioning to condition childhood and adolescent associations, standards, and the like, thus to influence the ultimate choice of a marriage mate. In most cases, married couples were equal in formal education, a tendency strongest among Jews and weakest among Catholics.

To sum up, New Haven data show beyond doubt that American culture does place limits on who marries whom. Racial mores divide the community into two pools of marriage mates. Religion separates whites into three other pools, with the vast majority of each pool marrying within his creedal group. National origins further restrict marital choice, as does an individual's class position. All of these factors enter into determining the *kind* of person one will most likely marry, though not the exact individual he or she will wed.

In the New Haven data, interracial marriages have been very few. Ethnicities have intermarried at high rates along creedal lines. Catholic nationalities have married Catholic nationalities, Protestants likewise, whereas Jews have pretty much married Jews. Thus there is a pattern for this community of a *triple melting pot*, with "all three creedal pots boiling merrily side by side." The extent to which this pattern holds the nation over is not known through research.

Thomas,²⁰ using *Catholic Directory* data, believes that he has disproved the triple melting-pot theory. In the 132 parishes studied (East, Middle West), he found record of 29,581 mixed marriages, 39.6 per cent of which were not sanctioned by Catholic Church nuptials. Using only sanctioned unions, Thomas computed the mixed marriage rate as ranging from about 70 per cent of all church unions in some places where Catholics were few to less than 10 per cent in, say, El Paso, where Catholics predominate. The rate for the nation was computed at 26.2 per cent, a figure stepped up to 30.0 because of known limitations in the data. While we do not see

²⁰ John L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 16: 487-491, 1951.

that this refutes the triple melting-pot idea, it does add some facts worth knowing.

What are the effects of intermarriage? For example, a distinguished rabbi has argued that "90 per cent of such Jewish-Gentile marriages are unsuccessful." They are said to "undermine the stability of the home, increase the number of unhappy unions, bring children into the world with a rift in their souls."²¹ Social scientists are inclined to study cases on risk-taking grounds. Marriage is, at best, a chancy matter, so why complicate it more? Such persons must face the issues of conflicting ethnic and creedal heritages, of parental disapproval, and of rearing children in dual culture patterns, perhaps with dual sets of friends.

In all of this, it is assumed that differences in backgrounds will foster discord rather than the reverse, that is, create decreased rapport, and that "marriage will become the focal point of tensions generated both within and outside the home." While there is evidence to support both suppositions, we know of no conclusive study on either point. To say that outcomes depend on individuals, that there are indeed happy mixed-marriage homes, is just another way of stating that this problem needs more study before broad generalizations can be made.

Intermarriage is a very real issue to some high school and college youth. One listens to their questions in class or talks with them in conferences. This young man or woman is, we can believe, very much in love. Should he (or she) marry across some racial or creedal line? Frankly, if we are pressed on this issue, we find ourselves unable to advise. We cannot, in good conscience, say or even hint yes or no. It is every person's right in this country to contemplate such a union, just as it is a teacher's duty to cause him to think, to search out facts, to value them. It is also our duty, or so we believe, to suggest that the individual advise with parents, with his priest, pastor, or rabbi; with others who have his interests at heart. We can bring him social-science data but its evaluation must be left to him.

An educator, a public-school educator, must try to educate. While much will be said in Part Three about his role, it is well now to center attention squarely on a dilemma we have long felt.

²¹ Rabbi Israel Tabak, cited in Milton L. Barron, "Research on Intermarriage: A Survey of Accomplishments and Prospects," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57: 249-255, 1951.

For many years we have felt an inconsistency between what people do, the way the nation seems to be heading, and an anti-mixed-marriage point of view. On the one hand, much is being done to equalize opportunities, to mix young people in schools, colleges, on jobs, in the armed forces, everywhere in life. This is the nation's considered effort to teach group appreciations and understandings, to make us one united people. Surely, these conditions favor close friendships, even lifelong intimacies. On the other side of the ledger, there is strong objection from both minority and majority spokesmen to mixed unions. The question is are we or are we not consistent? We have yet to find a mixed student group which did not differ on this issue, and the problem is to keep discussion considerate of individual feelings and experiences.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Get and read Myer Levin's *In Search*. A class report on his *The Old Bunch* might be exciting. Why have some Jews criticized this book?
2. Tell what you understand by the "marginal man." Does this type of person differ from the "sojourner"? Read on this P. C. P. Siu, "The Sojourner," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58: 34-41, 1952.
3. Does our reasoning about status, role, self, and so on, make sense to you? Think of some situation, not too personal, in which you have been involved. Use our pattern of terms to explain yourself to yourself.
4. Where do you stand on the question of what to teach minority children about their minority role and status? Suggest a panel discussion of this.
5. Have you seen anything like the Sherif experiment in real life? If so, comment on it. Do you think minority ingroup roles tend to transfer?
6. Do you feel that we, as educators, should help Negroes become better Negroes, Jews better Jews, Catholics better Catholics, and so on? What would you say, for example, to a Jew if he did not want to be a Jew? Explain your reasoning.
7. Have you ever heard of the Hutterites? How have they managed to preserve their way of life? Joseph W. Eaton has a good report on this, *American Journal of Sociology*, 17: 331-340, 1952.

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CHAPTER 7

Adult Community, Caste and Class

In America, everybody is of the opinion that he has no social superior, since all men are equal, but he does not admit that he has no social inferiors for, from the time of Jefferson onward, the doctrine that all are equal applies only upward, not downward.

—BERTRAND RUSSELL

Who gets what, when, why, and how?

—HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Our aim in past chapters has been to study prejudice and discrimination, to understand these "anti" attitudes and actions. We have discussed in turn early childhood, adolescence, college years, and minority youth. Students have, no doubt, done exploring of their own, dipped into readings and projects, made local studies, as these activities appealed to them. To conclude Part Two let us inspect the adult community, seat and center of our way of life.

How can one ever comprehend America, its vastness, complexities, changes? The need is for a detailed case study, a profile of specifics, which is for us an impossible task. Such studies have been made by Tocqueville, Bryce, Gorar, Mead, and others, each well worth reading. But none has quite the center we want, the forthright focus on caste and class. We shall try first to understand this way of viewing our society and then to relate some other ideas to it, especially the concepts of change, unity, and power.

THEORIES OF SOCIETY

In College Study colleges, we passed along at least five ways of looking at our society, five interpretations of what it is like. The aim was to help faculties lay foundations for the kind of intergroup work they wished to do. Everywhere, the "social-process" view was least liked by educators. This was in part because of their

conviction that process can be guided, that change can be controlled to a degree. Even Marxian ideas¹ or the puzzles of Parson's "structural-functional" analysis met with better hearings. In every college, the Myrdal or the Warner system was preferred. We shall speak first of Myrdal and then develop at length the Warner caste-class view.

The Myrdal² theory defines white-Negro relations in terms of moral values. What this Swedish authority seems to say is that we are a democracy, more so than any other great nation, yet we do not practice what we preach. We do not treat ethnics as our ideals dictate. Now, Myrdal goes on, one cannot hold basic values, such as common human rights, and not act them out without paying a price. The price to many of us is a bad conscience, to some a deep guilt complex. This builds up anxieties, and a common escape is to rationalize, to hold that there is no race problem, that things are getting better, that time will cure. Myrdal asks why our efforts to end ill will have been so puny. He proposes an action program, governmental, educational, and otherwise.

The appeal of this viewpoint to educators is threefold. It stresses moral ideals, long a favorite educational orientation,³ and it suggests organized change action, in part via education. It focuses on the underdog, the American Negro, and, by implication, on other groups whose rights are restricted.

CASTE-CLASS, A CASE STUDY

One way to begin a study of caste and class is via some bit of concrete material, some empirical research. Our choice is a Warner-type study of a small Georgia town. It is simple enough to see through rather quickly, yet it contributes to the fast-growing literature in this field.

*Caste and Class in Georgia Town*⁴

Georgia Town is a county-seat market center in the so-called "cracker" culture area of southeast Georgia. It has a population of about 5,000, a third being Negro. Its history goes back to 1740, date of area settlement.

¹ An example is Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race*, Doubleday, 1948.

² Gunnar Myrdal *et al.*, *An American Dilemma*, Harper, 1944.

³ An example is H. Gordon Hullfish (ed.), *Educational Freedom in an Age of Anxiety*, Harper, 1953.

⁴ Based on Mozell C. Hill and Bevode C. McCall, "Social Stratification in 'Georgia Town,'" *American Sociological Review*, 15: 721-729, 1950.

Since 1880, town growth has been slow but steady. As institutions have increased, population differentiation along caste and class lines has kept pace.

Study Methods. The two researchers were introduced to the community as employees of the Federal government. They were provided an office in the county courthouse and promised the cooperation of the public schools.

After four months of observation and interviews, they began the stratification of the population by the Warner ISC' (Index of Social Characteristics) rating method. College students from two nearby universities assisted in filling in schedules on 4,933 persons. Data included sex, age, marital status, occupation, source of income, house type, dwelling area, education, and other items. After scale data were secured, they were converted into Warner subscale scores for predicting class position.

Class-Caste Structure. Table 29 shows the distribution of the Georgia Town population twelve years of age and over.

Table 29. Class Membership in Georgia Town*

Social class	Whites		Negroes		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Upper.....	142	4.1	5	.3	147	3.0
Upper-middle.....	709	20.7	24	1.6	733	14.8
Lower-middle.....	1,222	35.7	138	9.2	1,360	27.6
Upper-lower.....	999	29.1	390	25.9	1,389	28.2
Lower-lower.....	357	10.4	947	63.0	1,304	26.4
Totals.....	3,129	100.0	1,501	100.0	4,933	100.0

* Mozell C. Hill and Bevoide C. McCall, "Social Stratification in 'Georgia Town,'" *American Sociological Review*, 15: 724, 1950.

Over half the people in this biracial community are lower class, and 82.2 per cent range from lower-middle downward. This is partly because of the marked difference in class position of the two caste groups. For example, 63 per cent of the Negroes scored were rated lower class as compared with 10.4 per cent of the whites. Only five Negroes were found to possess upper-class status characteristics in contrast to 142 whites.

The relation between the caste and class structures of Georgia Town is seen in Fig. 7.

Meanings of Caste-Class. In data which cannot be given at length, the authors give meaning to their tables and diagrams. For example, 41.5 per cent of the Negro homes were rated 7 on the Warner scale, *i.e.*, in "very bad condition," with only 1 per cent rated excellent. In contrast, 60 per cent of the white homes rated 4 or above, good to excellent. Over 64 per cent of the Negro work pursuits were rated 7 (unskilled labor, domestic

service, public relief, farm work), with only 9 per cent at 4 or above (business owner, professional, white collar). Over 70 per cent of white occupations were rated 4 or over, and only 4 per cent were at 7, the bottom of the scale.

In respect to source of income, 81.7 per cent of Negro families were wage workers, rated accordingly at 5 on the scale. Not one Negro family had inherited or earned wealth. The Warner residential factor (dwelling area) did not prove to be an important differentiating criterion, chiefly

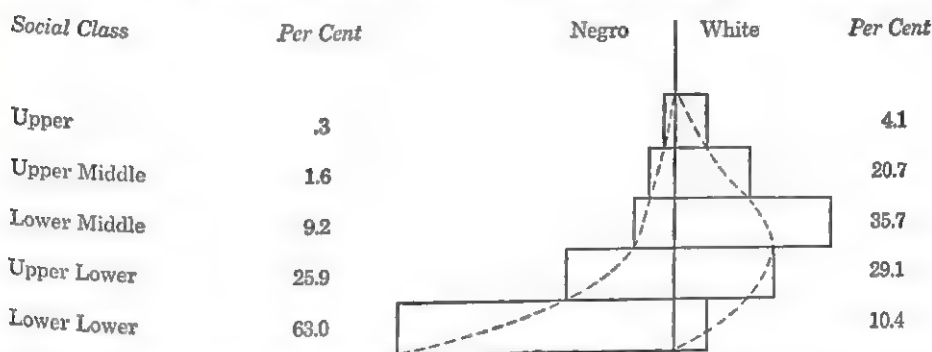


FIG. 7. Caste and class, Georgia Town. (From Mozell C. Hill and Bevoe C. McCall, "Social Stratification in 'Georgia Town,'" *American Sociological Review*, 15: 725, 1950.)

because of the rigid caste limits of life in Georgia Town. No Negroes lived in areas rated at the top of the scale, and 41.5 lived in the most undesirable districts. Education was found to be a basic index of class status, so much so that we shall print the table showing how formal schooling is related to caste-class position.

Table 30. Education by Caste-class Level, Per Cent of Response*

School level	U		UM		LM		UL		LL	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
College graduate and professional.....	68	..	54	65	33	25	7	3	1	1
High school graduate.....	9	..	9	4	10	12	3	9	3	3
1-3 years high school.....	19	..	31	4	41	11	46	15	29	10
Common school graduate..	4	..	3	4	5	10	13	10	21	6
4-7 years common school..	1	..	2	17	10	28	27	47	35	51
0-3 years common school..	..	..	1	4	1	12	2	16	12	29

* Adapted from Mozell C. Hill and Bevoe C. McCall, "Social Stratification in 'Georgia Town,'" *American Sociological Review*, 15: 728, 1950. Per cents have been rounded.

In Table 30, about 68 per cent of white upper-class persons were college graduates. In general, the table shows the close correlation between

schooling and class level. For example, common schooling of 7 years or less is linked with lower-class status. Whites tend to place at upper educational levels, Negroes at lower levels, with convergence at center levels.

To see if skin color was related to class status, Negroes were rated on a 7-point scale: white, light, tan, brown (three shades), and ebony. All upper-class Negroes were white or light. Dark brown and very dark brown predominated at lower-class levels. Ebony ranged from upper-middle to lower-middle class positions.

Conclusions. The Warner ISC index proved a useful tool in stratifying Georgia Town. The occupation and house-type scales were most applicable to community conditions, hence most valid. Dwelling area and source of income were difficult to apply. Formal education was found to be an excellent index, and in research in the South, it might well be substituted for dwelling area or source of income.

This is, as said, one inquiry in an ever-growing number of caste-class studies. To get more data before us, we shall compare Georgia Town findings with some larger and better-known researches, omitting just now the caste angle. Yankee City was, at the time of study, a New England town of 16,785 in population.⁵ Jonesville, with about 6,000 persons, is in the Middle West, Illinois to be specific.⁶ Table 31 gives a comparison.

Table 31. Social Classes in a Southern, an Eastern, and a Middle Western Town, as a Per Cent of Total Population*

Social class	Georgia Town	Yankee City	Jonesville
Upper.....	3.0	3.0	3.6
Upper-middle.....	14.8	10.22	12.4
Lower-middle.....	27.6	28.11	31.3
Upper-lower.....	28.2	36.6	40.5
Lower-lower.....	26.4	25.22	12.5

* From Mozell C. Hill and Bevide C. McCall, "Social Stratification in 'Georgia Town,'" *American Sociological Review*, 15: 725, 1950, and W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, Harper, 1949.

The most striking feature of Table 31 is the general agreement of percentage figures. Studies tend to confirm one another, yet it

⁵ This is the original Warner-type study. See W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, Yale University Press, 1941. This is the first book in the Yankee Series of volumes. The ISC scale had not been developed at the time of this inquiry. However, it is known to have a high positive correlation with the EP (evaluated participation) used in this research.

⁶ See W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, Harper, 1949.

should be remembered that all three places are small, that so far there has been no exactly comparable research on a medium-to-large city.

WAYS OF STRATIFYING A POPULATION

Warner has stressed two ways of stratifying a community population. One is by "evaluated participation" (EP), the other by an "index of social characteristics" (ISC).⁷ The latter has been evolved from the former and is recommended. At first, the ISC scale was based on six kinds of data, but on fuller use amount of income and of education have been dropped. At present (since further changes can be anticipated), the ISC scale is the weighted sum of an individual's score on four 7-point subscales: occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area. If, to illustrate, a person's occupation, etc., places him at 1 on each subscale (this being the highest rating), weights and points are as follows:

Subscale	Rating	Weight	Points
Occupation.....	1 X	4 =	4
Source of income.....	1 X	3 =	3
Dwelling type.....	1 X	3 =	3
Dwelling area.....	1 X	2 =	2
Total.....			12

Each subscale ranges in value from 1 to 7, with a total scale value of 12 for highest class status to 84 for lowest status. One needs a classification manual, preferably the Warner manual, to use this scale. The manual ranks jobs, source of income, and so on, as to value (1 to 7), after which one multiplies by the assigned weight, then totals points. The result is a linear distribution of scores which is divisible into "classes." Which classes, or better said, how many classes, one will find will depend on the run of the data. In theory, the number for any community studied would range from one class to nine classes or more.

Educators have made considerable use of the ISC scale in stratifying school and college populations by the status of parents, i.e., family head. As a rule, they have adjusted the scale to local conditions, for example, modified Warner's occupational cate-

⁷ For scale theory, weights, procedures in use, see W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America*, Science Research Associates, Chicago, 1949.

gories. Some have substituted education for source of income or for dwelling area and refigured scale weights. Such changes, while quite defensible, raise a question as to the comparability of these studies with studies which do not modify the ISC scale.

CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS

Sociologists and others have been rather critical of the Warner theory and procedure. At least four basic issues have been raised and at present writing are still unresolved.⁸

1. Are classes social groups or social strata? The latter means simply upper to lower levels or positions in which people fall in a hierarchial status system. Warner has said that classes are perceptual realities, social groupings that people see and know about. After describing Jonesville's classes, he writes: "As we have said earlier, these social levels are not categories invented by social scientists to help explain what they have to say; they are groupings recognized by the people of the community."⁹ Hollingshead in his Elmtown (or Jonesville) study is even more explicit. Quoting him:

The Elmtowners told us several things about the community's prestige structure which may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. They asserted the existence of classes and gave them names.
2. They assigned differential prestige to the several strata.
3. They identified particular persons as members of specific classes.
4. They mentioned some criteria for placing persons in each class.
5. They thought of themselves as members of classes.
6. Finally . . . they associated behavior with class.¹⁰

Are classes groups or strata? We are inclined to venture an opinion that they are, after a fashion, both. In smaller places, what Hollingshead has said is unquestionably true, as a later case on Prairie Town will suggest. People know people and they do "classify" them. Ingroup-outgroup attitudes and behaviors are commonplace. But classes, even in these small places, do not tend to behave en masse as organized, acting groups. A labor union, a veterans' post, a church congregation, is an acting group. Of

⁸ For critical articles, see chapter bibliography, especially the review of 333 current titles by Howard W. Pfautz.

⁹ In W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Democracy in Jonesville*, pp. xiii-iv, Harper, 1949.

¹⁰ A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, p. 74, Wiley, 1949.

course, members of all such groups can be class typed, class placed. But the significant thing about any true group in a psychological sense is its goals, its *raison d'être*, which is not status but, say, in a labor union, economic gain. Seen from this point of view, classes can be called status hierarchies or prestige ranks.

2. What is the best way of making status ratings, the most valid and reliable? The ISC scheme has been described. Two of its categories, occupation and source of income, seem much more objective than the other two, house type and dwelling area. Whether all of these are needed we shall consider in point 3.

Another way to stratify is to select a panel of community members and ask them to rate the people they know. This can be done in private by each panel member or as a combined group judgment. Instructions can be general, that is, "how well a person is thought of, his popularity," or very explicit as to items to consider in making ratings. In no instance, to our knowledge, has the key sponge term, "social worth," "popularity," or "reputation," been given precise definition, so that raters may operate on quite different ideas of its meaning. They can, and do, make ratings, but the bases of ratings (factors in ratings) are not known.

3. The Warner ISC scale needs further simplification. It will be recalled that this scale was evolved from the cumbersome EP method, that its initial six subscales were replaced by four. The correlation of these four subscales with the EP was .972, leaving little to be desired. Hatt¹¹ has asked why Warner did not move on to a still simpler procedure. If either source of income or dwelling area had been dropped, correlations with the EP would have been .964 and .966, which are still very high. Occupation alone has a zero-order coefficient of .91 with the EP. Hatt's proposal is that the ISC be replaced by a prestige scale of occupations, plus a home-rental index. He argues that this type of scale would be sufficient for all practical use. Aside from saving labor, it would make community stratification studies widely comparable as today they are not.

4. Area sampling has not been well handled. In the Jonesville study, all the data come, it would seem, from 399 cases, a sixth of the town's families. The representativeness of this sample is not assessed, and from time to time bits of data "throw doubt on the

¹¹ Paul K. Hatt, "Stratification in Mass Society," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 216-222, 1950.

sample's adequacy."¹² Worse still, it is asserted that "Jonesville is America," meaning, one might guess, that this Middle Western town typifies the nation as a whole. If this is meant, it is not likely that social scientists could support any such generalization.

THE CASTE-CLASS HYPOTHESIS

We have not meant to cast doubt on the general caste-class idea or to belittle its very practical worth to educators. Observation alone would suggest the sense of using some such concept as caste-class to label countless concrete attitudes and behaviors which involve color and status lines. We have in mind only that the idea be

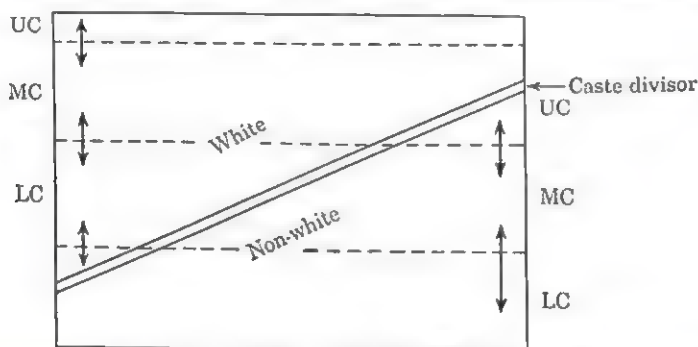


FIG. 8. American caste-class system, schematic. (Adapted from W. Lloyd Warner, *American Journal of Sociology*, 42: 234, 1946.)

treated as a hypothesis, albeit a very promising one, and that it be given a great deal of further study.

Figure 8 does not describe any actual place. It is a general idea of the caste-class system, a schematic diagram. What it shows is that the color line splits the community into white and nonwhite, with the former in the upper, or superordinate, position. Social classes exist on both sides of the line, with nonwhites one cut below whites at comparable class levels. What Warner means to suggest is that the kinds of occupations, sources of income, and so on, which bring whites middle-class status bring Negroes, for example, upper-class status, and so at other status levels. While this point is debatable, a decision pro or con will not affect the basic worth of the figure as a teaching device.

Within the caste-class system, many influences operate both to anchor individuals, to hold them in place; and to motivate them, to

¹² H. W. Pfautz and O. D. Duncan, "A Critical Evaluation of Warner's Work in Community Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 205-215, 1950.

move them up and down the status ladder. Warner stresses four kinds of social structures. The *family* into which a person is born determines, at the outset, his caste and class position. Small, intimate *cliques* interrelate members at one or two class levels. Formal *associations*, for example, a civic club, a PTA, may link two or more class ranks, and basic *institutions* tend to bind together the whole community. In general, the class system is called an open order, in contrast to castes, which are closed. What is meant is that a person may win or lose class status by his own efforts, whereas the ratings attached to skin color are much more resistant to change. All this needs study, for our life is anything but static. It is dynamic, far more, it has been claimed, than Warner's caste thinking implies.

How do people change their class positions? While McGuire does not answer this question, students can usually illustrate from their experiences his five mobility types.

*Mobile Types*¹³

Climber. "He's really getting along in the world," or "Oh, she's made a good marriage," or "He's finally got out of that mess at home."

Strainer. "He's really trying hard to get ahead—but I don't think he's got what it takes," or "She's trying her best to get in."

Static. "Like father, like son," or "She's a nice quiet person, just like her mother."

Clinger. "He's trying to follow in his father's footsteps, but not doing well," or "Her folks didn't leave much, and she's going to have a hard time."

Decliner. "Just a backslider," or "She's dropped out of things; we never see her any more," or "That family has hit the skids for sure."

CLASSES AS MODES OF LIFE

In his *Point of No Return*, Marquand, Sr., jokes about an anthropologist who is studying the community with which the novel deals. This is Marquand's home town and also the scene of the Warner Yankee City research, so that one may suspect a connection. At any rate, the anthropologist hustles about, interviewing people, pigeonholing them as upper-upper, upper-lower, middle-middle, and so on. But he does not understand them, know what is inside them, see into their life, or so a reader is led to believe. Marquand has fun at this, for whatever his views are worth.

¹³ Carson McGuire, "Social Stratification and Mobility Patterns," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 198, 1950.

What are classes as modes of life? What content do they have? The sample study we have selected dates back a few years. It falls outside the debate about the Warner method of stratification. Classes were determined in part by interview and observation, in part by scaled socioeconomic ratings.

Prairie Town is small, about 3,500. It is in South Dakota, a grain-growing area. People are mainly of Scandinavian descent, along with Yankees who have moved in from adjacent states. Traditions are those of American frontier culture: informal neighboring, good horse sense, mutual aid, Jeffersonian democracy. In the 1920's and 1930's, when depression hit, the town's nascent class structure became more firmly set, more explicit. By 1942, at the time of study, there were three major strata: low-class farm hands and odd-job workers; a middle class of successful (and retired) farmers, business and professional persons; and third, an elite of large landowners and merchants.

In the material to be given, the middle class, the "average" citizen, has been omitted so that the two polar strata will be clearer. The elite, known as the "tops," live almost all together on the bluff side of town. The low status people, the "bottoms," live in the flats below.

*Tops and Bottoms, a Status Contrast*¹⁴

Nature of Class Lines. The elite comprise a stable, integrated social class, with rigid criteria of admission. Members come mostly from families that have had high status for many years. Newcomers to the town, if they are known to have "good family background," may be warmly welcomed but are not at once given full class status. Type of occupation and permanency are requisites, as are being seen with the right people, participating in the right activities, playing conventional social roles. Not all deviant persons are rejected, for example, an eccentric old maid is highly respected because of family backgrounds.

To Bottoms people, none of these criteria is significant. They value highly such traits as being a good neighbor, using plain talk, and engaging in their own kinds of work and play pursuits. There is no instance in the last generation of a young person born into a Bottoms family who became a member of the Tops, nor is there any case of the reverse. The general low rate of vertical mobility means that class positions have grown stable, with the middle class catching most of such shifts that do occur.

¹⁴ Adopted and condensed from John Useem *et al.*, "Stratification in a Prairie Town," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 331-342, 1942.

Death, retirement, and possibly migration are the main unsettling factors within the upper-class stratum. Low-class workers seldom if ever retire. After they become unemployable, they continue to live at home with the help of their children and of public relief.

Occupation is, to repeat, a prime differentiating factor. Heads of Bottoms families are common laborers, most of whom have at some time received public assistance. In Tops families, male heads are entrepreneurs; none have ever been on relief.

Upper-class members are far more mobile than lower class, visiting a nearby big city on the average of once a month. Inside the local area, the interaction of Bottoms persons takes place within sharp space bonds, *i.e.*, the immediate vicinity, and all families are involved. The homes of Tops people are spread over a wider area, with middle-class homes interspersed. Mutual aid is far more common among low-status families, for example, help in times of trouble, care of children, borrowing this or that. Asking the advice of neighbors is general, whereas upper-class persons neither ask nor give advice to persons who happen to live in their neighborhood.

At the lower level, the family is a pivotal institution. It is a larger unit than at the upper level, and it is much more integrated in its activities, more central in the individual's life. High-prestige families are increasingly segmental, with each member having his own interests and friends.

Differences in external status symbols are, of course, pronounced. Most Bottoms families live in two-room shacks, without modern conveniences such as electricity. Their mean score on the Chapin Living Room scale is 27.4, with a range from 2 to 76. A score of less than 24 on this scale means that the family is destitute, lacking the necessities of life. Only a very few Bottoms adults own their own homes, although a number have cars, four-fifths being Fords or Chevrolets. Every Tops family is a homeowner, in addition to their other properties. On the Chapin scale, their average was 200.8. Almost every family owned a car, mostly in the Packard to Buick price range.

The formal education of the two levels is poles apart. All but three upper-class adults were college graduates, whereas the typical Bottoms adult had completed the eighth grade. Only three of these persons had attended high school, and none had gone to college. Tastes in reading, in leisure pursuits, etc., parallel this difference in schooling. Tops families buy best sellers, attend literary societies, subscribe to an average of six periodicals, and buy newspapers from distant cities such as Chicago and New York. Bottoms people show no interest in the arts, a mark of weakness. They read little, mostly pulp magazines of the *True Story* or westerns type.

Class differences are seen in the vital processes of life. Mean age of

death among Tops people during the past 20 years is 61.5 for men and 77.0 for women, in contrast to 52.1 and 64.0 for Bottoms. Infant mortality is nearly twice as high in the lower class. Local doctors report that mental ills are far more common among upper-class women, with chronic sickness and malnutrition general in Bottoms homes.

Class lines are drawn more sharply for women than for men. At both status levels, the latter tend to interact more freely with outgroup members, whereas women are more alert to social position, more inclined to conform to class norms. The social distance, as measured on the Bogardus scale, is far greater between classes as seen in women's scores than in the scores of men.

Upper-class women are time conscious. Though they have few home duties because of hired help and modern appliances, and few children, many hours are spent on social affairs. They shop for latest styles, go to beauty parlors, attend club meetings, play bridge, and the like. Lower-class women have no pressing social life. Many work for pay, leaving to an older child a good deal of the home care. On the Chapin Social Participation scale, Tops women average a score of 20.4 as compared to 2.5 for Bottoms. About half the Tops women dieted to preserve their figure, while none of the lower-class women did.

Ingroup and Outgroup Attitudes. "Living in a given group," as Pareto has said, "impresses the mind with certain concepts, certain ways of thinking and doing, certain beliefs. . . ." Prairie Town elite explain their social position in terms of personal merit, plus survival of the fittest. They believe that merit counts, that any able person can win his way up. They hold that low-status persons are at the bottom because they are shiftless, lazy, and unintelligent. Among Bottoms people, there is agreement that Tops rank high for reasons other than ability, *i.e.*, luck, "pull," inherited wealth. In short, in their view, competition has been neither equal nor fair.

In general, Tops people agree more fully in their convictions about lower-class people than is true in reverse. They hold that lower-strata persons lack ambition, spend money unwisely, are far from bright, have low moral standards, drink too much, are irreligious, poorly dressed (unclean), and bad mannered. They do not appreciate the efforts of people who try to help them, for example, teachers in grade and high schools. They do not treat upper-class persons with proper respect, "don't seem to know their own place."

Two-thirds of the Bottoms people interviewed felt that the Tops are "show-offs." "They act as if they were better than common folk," fail to live up to their own preachings, have easy jobs, gad about, and drink to excess. They are unsympathetic with the less fortunate, try to run everybody's business, discriminate against persons not in their set. They

are smooth in their ways, have pull and money to cover things up. It is evident that each class believes the other to deviate further from area norms than the class itself does.

About a fifth of the upper-class sample said that Bottoms children were less intelligent and less well disciplined than their own children. Boys and girls from Tops families by the age of ten think Bottoms kids of their own age are "tough, stinky, and dumb." The latter children label their upper-class peers as "sissies, smart alecks, stuck ups." The town makes it something of a point to have these two sets of youngsters kept apart. It has built two separate playgrounds and two area-centered grade schools.

Ingroup preference is much stronger among upper-class individuals. All Tops parents desire their children to marry within the elite group, whereas only a very few Bottoms parents want their children to marry at their own level. Tops ingroup preferences run uniformly through all contacts and associations, for example, clubs, church membership, place of residence, and so on. Bottoms preferences are mixed. Some parents feel that one does better by staying in his own class, running with his own kind. Other parents want their children to do better in life than they, the parents, have done. "I hope my children live someday up on the bluffs," a wage working woman said, "because they'll be treated better, have a better chance."

Though it cannot be said that each class tends to develop a fixed personality type, some evidence points that way. From infancy on, children on either side of the line are conditioned to class-typed ways of life. They learn what is expected of them, how to behave toward their own kind and toward the outgroup. By young adulthood, each type of person has a set of techniques for living in a stratified community. To illustrate, Bottoms youth believe they are just as intelligent, just as capable, as Tops youth but that they have far from equal opportunities in employment, education, or anything else. Holding that their low status is a handicap, they become overly aggressive, uninhibited in speech, sensitive to any slight. They resent especially the charities of the upper and middle classes.

Community Integration. In Prairie Town, the researchers could not find a single set of habits or customs which encompassed the total population. Even English, the common tongue, showed class variations, with old-country languages persisting or changing at unequal rates of speed. With no common universe of discourse, no common range of childhood experiences, adult class members can scarcely be expected to put themselves in the other person's shoes, to play his role in community affairs. Area life is not unified but segmentalized, with the dominant segments being status classes. Each class feels that advantages accruing to it

advance the general welfare, thus resents any "interference" which appears to disadvantage that class.

Cooperation in civic matters occurs when interests of two or more status segments coincide; disunity arises when interests differ. Any public enterprise, in order to be successful, must offer something to all status levels, and common denominators are hard to work out. To illustrate, some schoolteachers and parents felt that the town lacked teen-age recreation. After a house-to-house canvass, they formed a civic council and began a series of meetings. At each session, the same issues arose, the same splits occurred, and nothing was ever accomplished. Tops people would not tolerate a play center where their children would mix with Bottoms youth. Lower-class members would not agree to "separate but equal" facilities, for they felt they would get the little end.

This case depicts small-town class-typed realities which are widespread, which anyone can confirm from experiences and observations. It tells how people feel, think, and act, how they relate themselves, how a community gets organized. It points also to a basic truth, one advanced by Georg Simmel many years ago. The more intimate the relations between groups of diverse interests, the more intense their conflict when it does occur.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND DISUNITY

As much has been done now as can be done to describe caste and class. From here on, we shall relate other ideas to this pattern of intergroup life. The first need is for a broad perspective on social change. In general, the trend of change has been from primary to secondary ways of living, as sociologists use these terms.

In the old primary community, people knew people in many phases of their associated life. The community extended as far as talk went, which was not very far in those times. Area centers, often a town or village, were small, and people were fairly homogeneous. Institutions were few, simple, and stable. Government was far more by custom than by courts and law. Togetherness was a normal way of life, not the product of a campaign. Nigh dwelling meant neighboring and this meant, in turn, a rather inclusive moral code. Town meetings were not a radio program but something in which citizens took part.

To say that much of this has changed, that change is ever accelerating, is not news. Under the impact of world-wide forces,

chiefly those of the market place, we have become more and more urban minded, urban centered, urban organized and divided. The fate of Possum Trot, a very small place in Alabama, illustrates what has been said. Here are Nixon's general conclusions.

*Change, Lag, Disunity*¹⁵

Possum Trot is not more isolated than it used to be. . . . It is less isolated. It is closely connected with the world by economic ties—the urban five-and-ten-cent store, cotton warehouses, the county agricultural office, the courthouse at Anniston. Possum Trotters can be seen sitting there on the courthouse lawn, sitting and talking, passing the time away.

Possum Trot is no longer an economic and social unity, though it once was both. The people, the economy, are now integral parts of a large unpredictable unit, the world; yet our people are only slightly connected with other people in a social sense. The economic world absorbed Possum Trot, but the social world has passed it by. For Anniston, Piedmont, Jacksonville, for the state of Alabama, for the United States, for the world, Possum Trot folk are just so many economic men. . . .

Here, then, is the social lag. Social change has not kept pace with economic change. Something has been lost and not replaced. The community, no longer isolated, is more isolated than before.

Homans, summarizing research on an old New England town, puts the point just made in technical terms. The drift has been toward apathy and disintegration, in the following sense:

*Community Disintegration*¹⁶

1. Interactions among children and adults have decreased in number, frequency, and intensity.
2. The above change has led to a marked decline in the number and strength of sentiments which bind the community together into a functional whole.
3. Common conduct norms are far less numerous and less clear, including those defining the community's chief value, that of being a "good, respectable citizen."
4. As group norms have become less binding, so too has the social-class system, the ranking of persons in terms of social worth.
5. With this loss of interest in people, area control of conduct has declined to an all-time low in community history.

¹⁵ H. C. Nixon, *Possum Trot*, pp. 72-73, University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.

¹⁶ George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, Chap. 13, Harcourt, Brace, 1950.

6. The present state is a condition of disintegration, a "falling apart" of the community, a breakdown of order, rather than a condition of conflict, the clash of organized group interests.

We have been discussing social change, our way of life and what has happened to it. While it is clear that, as a people, we have come upon hard times, let us try one more statement. Durkheim's phrasing has long appealed to us.

People no longer feel sure about what is possible and what is not, what is just and what is unjust, which claims or aspirations are legitimate and which go beyond measure. . . . Thus, the appetites of men, being no longer restrained by public opinion, now bewildered and disoriented, do not know where the bounds are before which they ought to come to a halt.¹⁷

The great educational problem is to make life meaningful, to keep it organized. But let us not overdo our "rulelessness," our divisiveness. We need now to study the unity, the cohesiveness, which is still ours.

AREA UNITY, VALUE SHARING

Unity is, obviously, a relationship. A watch has unity if its parts fit together, if the mechanism keeps time. So, in a way, with the human community. If persons get along, if groups and institutions mesh, if all function well in keeping peace, solving problems, advancing area life, there is a working unity, a functional wholeness. This unity is always a matter of degree, and it can be of quite different kinds.

In the disappearing primary community, people knew, or felt they knew, what to do about recurring issues in their life. They had an idea of what other persons would do, hence what would be expected of them. Civic action was a way of organizing sentiments already in existence, of mobilizing traditional ideals and practices to meet a present crisis. This we shall call unity by *consensus*, the "taken for granted" workings of an ongoing way of life.

As population increased, people moved cityward and cities grew in number and in size. Urban dwellers became heterogeneous in race and culture, diversified in interests, yet pressed together in close quarters and interdependent on one another for their very

¹⁷ Emile Durkheim, *Le Suicide*, Alcan, Paris, 1897.

life. Self-interest and special-group interest tended to replace a concern for the common good. Unity now became a problem, a need, a want, and logic was brought to bear upon it. The community, or segments of it, was organized, that is, planfully mobilized. Strategies and tactics were developed for the winning of public consent. This is unity by *agreement*, a product of the political process.

There is one other kind of unity which must be taken into account, unity by *coercion*. This is the use of force to compel assent, as in a dictatorship, or to a lesser degree in any large bureaucratic structure such as big government, big business, big labor. While this kind of unity is contrary to democratic ideals, it is found, no doubt, in every free society. Where it is dominant, as in "iron curtain" nations, civic apathy is marked, conformity is widespread. But even under these conditions, a ruler cannot be indifferent to people, their frustrations and aspirations, as Machievelli so long ago advised.

Today, in our society, there are these three kinds of unity plus other kinds which need not be detailed.¹⁸ Unity by consensus has diminished, whereas unity by agreement has increased to the point where it might be called the American way, our mode of common civic life. What has happened to coercion, whether there is more or less, is speculative. We shall return to this point later in a discussion of power.

What has been said is theory and we shall, from time to time, apply it to school and community life. An illustration can be found in value sharing as practiced by our three great creedal groups, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Each group holds values *intra se*, else a church could not exist. Let us call these *P* values, *C* values, *J* values. At the same time, all church members hold *X* values, public welfare goals, for all are citizens. The question is how *PCJ* and *X* values come to be shared, the nature and extent of sharing. Aberle's comments are to this point.

When individuals acting in their roles as representatives of respective churches gather for joint action purposes, they must, at least overtly, share the value of religious tolerance. They need not have marked enthusiasm for the values of churches other than their own; indeed, an over valuation in this direction would raise problems of recruitment and replacement for each church. Should a church militantly oppose toler-

¹⁸ A. diagram, Fig. 21, p. 193, in Cook, *A Sociological Approach to Education*, McGraw-Hill, 1950, should prove helpful in understanding this present brief discussion.

ation in this sense, it could not operate in joint action with other churches; certainly, it could not engage in "interfaith activities."¹⁹

This writer speaks of interfaith activities, for example, Brotherhood Week and Race Relations Sunday, and of religious tolerance, a public welfare value which is written deeply into our way of life. It is in this official, formal manner, in this public expression of good will, that some *PCJ* values get shared, that a measure of common unity is created.

Another way of sharing values, whether sacred or otherwise, is so commonplace that it may well escape our thought. A church member has many secular roles—father, citizen, voter, businessman, board member, public servant, fisherman, clubman, and so on. In such activities, he interacts with other churchmen. He is a merchant, a Jew, and has non-Jew customers. He is a school-board member, a Chamber of Commerce director, a Catholic, hence plans and socializes with non-Catholics. He is a Protestant, holding governmental office, and a vote is a vote whatever its racial or creedal backgrounds.

In countless ways, the common values of our society transcend the subcultures of that society, the ethnic and other heritages. Since we can in times of crisis generate great unity, it is safe to say in spite of counterforces that the potential is always there.

POWER AND ITS USES

No study of society, thus no realistic educator, can neglect the topic of power and its uses. Why this was done in the Yankee City researches, in so many area studies, is a bit puzzling, even though some reasons come to mind. Power in everyday life, the act of decision making, is dangerous to talk about. It has a way of protecting itself from outside inquiry, keeping itself unknown in explicit detail. Moreover, many persons—including educators—think that power is evil, that a taste of it corrupts. Thus the least said about the power structure of a community, or of an institution, the better for everyone.

What is power? Who holds it? How is it used? In spite of many studies—Lasswell, Mannheim, Merriam, Russell, Beard, Max Weber—we have not yet come across the kind of work that educators need most, a down-to-earth study of local community life.

¹⁹ David F. Aberle, "Shared Values in Complex Societies," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 497, 1950.

There are approximations, for example, the Lynds' *Middletown* books. This city's commercial and industrial interests were thrown against its church-civic-welfare groups. The result is too well known to elaborate. What is good for business is good for the town, or so dominant power holders have always affirmed. Lesser power interests, notably welfare groups, contest this view.

What is power? A student might begin with something he may know a good deal about, say, a school system. If power is the ability to compel decisions, a school head has a lot of it. He can, for instance, hire and fire teachers with school-board sanction. His power is a delegated authority, adhering to his office, yet power must not be confused with officeholding. A person may be "officialized" to act yet lack the power to make his action stick. He may also have influence and prestige, but neither is the same as power. Power is the ability to narrow choices to the point where no action appears feasible to the actor except the action requested of him.

The relation of power to force is seen in a navy concept, the fleet in being, the fleet ready for action.²⁰ The state of being represents power, even though no battle is fought. When the fleet goes into battle, power is translated into striking force. Power is, therefore, latent force, a pattern of compulsions and destructions, real or imagined, which can be applied. Of course, one may read the signs wrong, in which case power is not power but bluff, pretense. Where bluff goes unchallenged, it can achieve the same results as power.

If power is latent force, there is a lot of it in social life. It is found in every group, great and small, in every community agency and institution. It is as natural as rain, as indispensable. It is not, however, as impersonal, for power is attached to social values and to social structure. It regulates the flow of goods and services in society, thus affects all human relations. It is in this sense that Lasswell's question takes on meaning: "Who gets what, when, why, and how?"²¹ While we cannot go into this, an old English quatrain comes to mind.

The law locks up the man and woman
Who steal the goose from off the common
But lets the greater felon loose
Who steals the common from the goose.

²⁰ Much of our thinking here is taken directly from Robert Bierstedt, "Analysis of Power," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 730-738, 1950.

²¹ Harold D. Lasswell, *A Study of Power*, Free Press, 1950.

We have tried above to define the power concept, to ready it for use in later chapters. Obviously, power is related to caste and class. This connection was indicated in Chapter 1 in respect to majority and minority groups, with the former being the overriding power holder. To an educator, all of this has far-reaching significance. He knows, for example, that every time he advocates change or no change, he touches established power fields. His problem often is how to live with power holders, to keep his job, and to get the school's business done.

In brief review, castes and classes are ways of viewing community life. Castes separate and organize people along racial lines, with whites dominant in our country, nonwhites subordinate. Classes divide people, *i.e.*, stratify them, by rank orders or status levels, with persons at each level possessing a like or similar mode of life. Georgia Town and Prairie Town in particular illustrate this method of community study.

One can speak of changes in this country in many ways, for example, from rural to urban living, from agriculture to industry. Our preferred term is from primary to secondary social systems, meaning in part that human relations have become fragmental, impersonal, and the like. Primary-group living persists, yet it seems to be diminishing. Civic unity is far more by agreement than by consensus, with degrees of coercion mixed in. Power, the ability to compel decisions, is an ever-present fact, as obvious as it is significant. It is a fact that educators need to take into account, for it is central in all their study-action programs.

Since we are now at the end of Part Two, a long road and, no doubt, a tough one to travel, a study group might well undertake a full-length review. If our experience is typical, students will get much more from this if they organize it themselves. At any rate, we have never found a review plan which all our students liked.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Which view of our society—Myrdal, Warner, other—do you like best? Why? If you care to, study the communist view of mass society as developed in Phillip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon*, McGraw-Hill, 1952.

2. For more material about races, creeds, and national groups, within a community setting, read Jessie Bernard's *American Community Behavior*, Dryden, 1949, which seems to us very good.

3. Do Negroes want most those values whites most want them to have, or is the reverse true? Read a study of this question by W. S. M. Banks, *American Sociological Review*, 15: 524-534, 1950.

4. What is your home town? Your class might conduct a panel discussion on "Caste and Class in My Home Town"? Sum up area likenesses and differences.

5. Arnold M. Rose reports, in *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, 5: 367-390, 1951, an informative study of leadership in a New England city of about 50,000. Serious value clashes were found between old residents, most of whom were Protestants, and immigrant incomers, mostly Catholic. Make a class report on this study.

6. Does the idea of "unconscious adaptations" of people forced to live within the limits of a caste system have any very clear meaning to you? To clarify the idea, read Negro case histories in A. Kardiner and L. Ovesey, *The Mark of Oppression*, Norton, 1951.

7. Tell what the concept of social power means to you. If possible, read and report Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

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PART THREE

*Improving
Intergroup Education*



CHAPTER 8

Changing People, a Study of Methods

Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know . . . but to behave as they do not behave.

—JOHN RUSKIN

Changing people is, like medicine, an *ars coniecturalis*, an art in which you have, finally, to make guesses.

—AN EDUCATOR

We come now to the heart of the matter, the subject of all chapters in Part Three. This is the problem of changing people, of relating means to ends so that wanted, predictable effects will occur. These effects are new ideas, new attitudes, new actions, with the latter the hardest to secure. There will be guessing in this, a lot of it, for we doubt if anyone knows enough to be precise. Until a science of human relations builds up, until it comes fully to undergird teacher education, each intergroup educator can stand only on his batting average. Here is a modest success, there is a failure, and even in retrospect one cannot always tell the difference.

If education as change action is a means-to-ends relation, it would be logical to start Part Three with ends, for ends determine means, not the reverse. Ends, aims, purposes, are the subject of the next chapter, after which will come a series of units on rather standard teaching methods. In this chapter, attention is on means, along with some effects, and for two reasons. First, *how* to teach, to reeducate people on race, creed, and so on, is for most of us a more difficult issue than *what* to teach. Second, education is much broader than schooling, and in addition, still other forces seek to improve intergroup relations. An education major needs to study this general picture, to see himself as one of many different change agents.

THE CHANGE PROBLEM

Why, asks Allport,¹ should one expect people to change, to rid themselves of prejudices? Once a person's views are formed, will he not cling to them? The economy of his life, his sense of personal worth, may need this prop to ego, this feeling of superiority. Moreover, his prejudices receive support every day from his environment, from other people. But, to argue the case otherwise, neither attitudes nor actions are inborn. They are learned, and in theory they can be unlearned, or else new learning can be stopped. Furthermore, if one is hopeful about education, if one believes in it, it is far more likely to succeed. To be sure, changes cannot be wished into being, yet the expectancy that they will occur is a strong motivational force.

To get a practical look at this change issue, let us imagine that one's task is to teach good will to some school group. What is good will? Good will toward whom? How much of it is wanted? What overt expressions will it take, what faces will it wear? If good will is a packet of personality elements, on which element should a teacher work? On ideas, on attitudes, or what? Which one will trigger off the others, bring them into a consistent whole?

What teaching methods are to be used? What materials, devices, experiences? How can the worth of each be calculated? If before-and-after measures of change are desired, where can a foolproof test be found? Will check marks on it forecast a pupil's out-of-class behavior? Will immediate effects last; that is, do they spill over into the future? When, really, should these effects be assessed—now, a month from now, a year from now?

Yes, it is difficult to change people, to know what changes have been secured. But we see no reason for undue pessimism. Knowledge is always relative, and its quality is improving. Not many years ago, study-action ideas, change methods, were very crude. They are still crude, no doubt, but they are no longer confined to commonsense ways of watching people, writing down what they do or say. At present, as Bain² remarks, "knowledge begins to be mensurative, analytical, and predictive. . . . It is cumulative,

¹ Gordon Allport has covered, in a very compact lecture, much ground gone over in this chapter. It is a pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness to him. See his chapter in Cook (ed.), *Toward Better Human Relations*, Wayne University Press, 1952.

² Read Bain, "Action Research and Group Dynamics," *Social Forces*, 30: 1-10, 1951.

systematic, and experimental." In short, the scientist's bag of tools has grown, as has also his knowledge of people.

While most of the change-action projects we shall speak of are far less than perfect, it is well to know what enters into an experimental study design. In brief, a subject group is matched (or equated) with a control group on relevant factors. One or more change stimuli are introduced into the first group but not into the second. Pre- and end-test difference between the groups is taken as an indication of probable change in the subject group. Allport has put this design in a form that can be easily remembered.

	Variables		
	Dependent	Independent	Dependent
Subject group	Measure of prejudice.....	Exposure to program.....	Measure of prejudice.....
Control group.....	Measure of prejudice.....	No exposure to program.....	Measure of prejudice.....

In this design, the independent variable, the one under test, might be a good-will film. This would be shown to the subject group but not to the controls. Pre- and end-tests would be given, under identical conditions, to each group. A comparison of scores would give a measure of change in, say, attitudes. To feel fairly confident that the film was the "efficient cause" of change, other hypotheses would have to be studied. Degrees of confidence vary, though we need not go on with this.

CHANGE METHODS, A PERSPECTIVE

We have yet to see a fully logical classification of change methods in intergroup relations, one that avoids overlaps and arbitrariness. Watson³ has, perhaps, done well, and so has Freeman,⁴ but neither scheme is quite what we believe most educators need. In the College Study project, we talked this over with teachers and students many times. Figure 9 is the best we could ever do toward putting their ideas into shape.

³ Watson, Goodwin, *Action for Unity*, Harper, 1947.

⁴ Freeman, F. D., "Theory and Strategy of Action in Race Relations," *Social Forces*, 30: 60-69, 1951.

Figure 9 suggests that there are two main ways of changing people, legislation and education. "Other methods" are a miscellaneous lot, with the two main examples specified. It should be said that this triadic division is for convenience, that all change methods have an educational aspect. One becomes conscious of them, acts in reference to them, which is what is meant here by "education."

Legislation can be read as ticketing off various things, the process of lawmaking, law on the books as lawyers talk it, court action, policing, and the like. In so far as these controls can be separated from education, the distinction would lie chiefly in the law's ex-

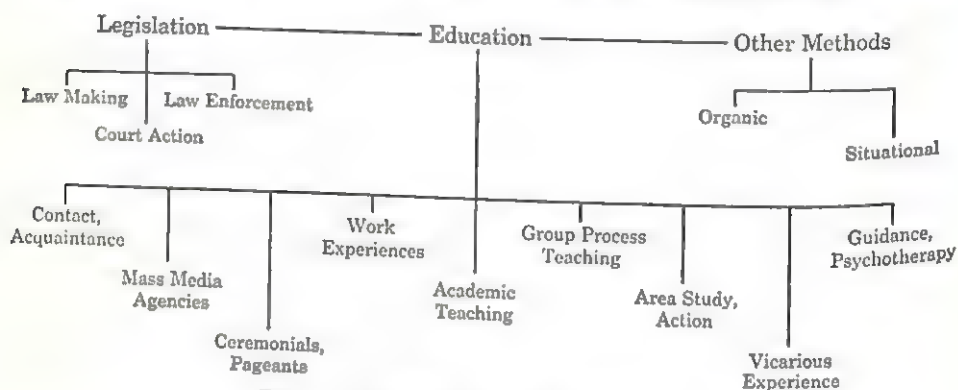


FIG. 9. Change methods, a perspective.

ternal, compulsive character. Few persons want to violate law, to experience its penalties. They tend to bring their actions into conformity with statutes and rulings, whatever their inner wishes and feelings may be. To say that attitudes cannot be legislated, a phrase often heard in intergroup work, is to misunderstand what has just been said. With very few exceptions, *law is directed toward overt actions*. It compels some behaviors, it prohibits others. In so far as law is effective, it is a way of changing people.

Education implies learning, a self-willed act, an act where choice is possible, even though the scales are weighted against an unwanted decision. Thus, a decision to learn, to change, rests on a somewhat different psychological basis than does a decision to obey a law. Education in human relations is a *planned effort to influence people in which the people, themselves, participate in a voluntary sense*. This process may be formal, as in college classrooms, or informal, as in life. In good teaching, the two are quite likely to be mixed.

By "other methods" is meant, for instance, the effects of organic

imbalances on people, such as a glandular disturbance. This can cause changes in personality, such as severe behavior-problem cases in schools. "Situational changes," to take our other item in the figure, mean environmental alterations. An example is the process of moving families out of slums into housing projects, thus setting up new conditions for them. School heads use this method of situational control in trying to build a school "whose very walls will teach fair play," whose democratic atmosphere will catch pupils. Strictly speaking, this is situational manipulation, though it has educational implications and effects.

LEGISLATION

Each decade sees more fair-play laws, more equalization of rights, more protection to citizens, regardless of their race, creed, and origins. This trend has not been, of course, in only one direction. For example, there is no doubt but that the court-sanctioned doctrine of guilt by association, a technique in the nation's war on subversives, is a radical departure from due-process law, hence a serious infringement on traditional liberties.⁵

At the Federal level, there have been repeated efforts to force an enactment by Congress of extensive civil-rights legislation, including an FEPC act, but this has been blocked so far by filibuster. Within the decade, the Supreme Court has ruled in the affirmative on 19 major issues involving Negro citizens. In nine months of a representative year, 1949, over 149 bills opposing discrimination were introduced into state legislatures.⁶ While few of these measures were passed or even voted on, they indicate something about national feeling.

Does legislation change people? While exact answer is impossible, much evidence supports an affirmative reply. Law is directed, to repeat, at actions, and attitudes may adjust to them. It may take time or it may never happen, as in prohibition legislation, yet we believe that changes tend to occur.

FEPC experiences provide a good example. In the 6 years since New York State passed its pioneering fair-employment act, state and city laws of this type have spread. They cover now more than

⁵ For this point of view, Francis Biddle, *Fear of Freedom*, Doubleday, 1952. With constitutional test cases now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court, it is very likely that this antidemocratic trend will be corrected.

⁶ *Report*, Vol. 4, No. 8, American Council on Race Relations, 1949.

MALE HELP WANTED

CLERK, white, Gentile Knowledge of
Trans. for billing and office work. Apply
162 Montrose

COLLECTOR-Salesman excellent oppor-
tunity for young man must drive car.
Apply 339 Wimpole

AUTO Body and fender man exp. neces-
sary best working conditions good sal-
232 Joyce Ave.

NAME of Applicant

Home Address

Telephone No. Social Security No.

Color ☒ Nationality ☒

Date of Birth Place of Birth ☒

Religion ☒ Birthplace of Father ☒

Education:

Elementary School Yrs. Graduate?

High School Yrs. Graduate?

College Yrs. Graduate?

Work Experience:

Last Employer.....

From To

Title

Salary

Duties

Are you married?.....

Race, religion, and ancestry are potentially
discriminatory. FEPC ordinances tend to
ban such inquiries on employment appli-
cation forms.

FIG. 10. Help-wanted ad, potentially discriminating. (From Annual Report, FEPC, Philadelphia, 1951.)

a fourth of the United States population.⁷ While thousands of job complaints are made to these commissions in any given year and many investigations are instituted by them, all but a few cases are settled out of court where the FEPC is empowered to take court action.

In Philadelphia, to be specific, 807 cases were handled by the

⁷ See Morroe Berger, "Fair Employment Practice Legislation," *The Annals*, 275: 34-46, 1951.

FEPC in the years 1948 to 1951.⁸ All cases alleged discrimination of some kind, over half the cases on the ground of refusal to employ. About 85 per cent of the complaints involved race, chiefly Negroes. Ten per cent related to creed, 4 per cent to national origins, and 1 per cent other. In all, 771 cases were closed, in the sense of final disposition of them. In 42 per cent, unlawful practices were found and adjusted. What we are not told is how issues were settled, that is, the legitimacy of claims, the equities at issue, the rulings made. To our knowledge, no FEPC report at present gives data on these vital matters.

New York State, especially its Commission against Discrimination, has possibly had more experience with civil-rights legislation than has any other state. There is a strong trend there to broaden the Commission's powers in the fight on prejudice. In March, 1952, a law extended this body's jurisdiction to areas of public accommodation, notably to hotels, restaurants, stores, theaters, and hospitals. The Commission can go into court to enforce its orders if necessary, though its view is that racial and religious discrimination "is a field for education, cooperation, and conciliation, rather than compulsion."

What can be said, in summary, about legislative and policing practices? People who oppose this approach to change action, who believe that this is not the way to stop discrimination, argue that there are too many laws, that no one likes laws, that they are ineffective. They admit that laws may be educative but often in the wrong direction. In some of this reasoning, though by no means in all of it, one can readily see a vested interest. Present economic practices are profitable, so why not let good enough alone?

Any law, to be effective, must have public support. This entails a continuing effort to inform the public, to reeducate people. It can be affirmed that law objectifies morals, that it defines sanctioned conduct, that it measures out punishment for guilt. To go on, once a law is passed, it is almost certain to have some few, or many, violators. Here, again, an educational campaign is in order, a considered attempt to deepen public conscience. Should "anti" forces win and the law be repealed, we feel that there is still an educational gain. An issue has been raised, discussion has gone on, a decision has been reached. Knowing the character of our times, one can predict that any civil-rights issue will be raised again.

⁸ FEPC, 1951, Annual Report, FEPC, Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1951.

CONTACT AND ACQUAINTANCE

This is the first of nine education categories in Fig. 9, though space will not permit all of them to be discussed. "To know people is to like them better," or so states a current good-will poster. Is this dictum true? It would appear to underlie much intergroup education in and outside of schools.

To like a person, one must know him or know about him, yet so much may be known that the individual is not liked at all. Thus contact is not, *per se*, enough. It carries in it no assurance of effects.

Under what conditions of contact can friendly attitudes, or at least tolerant ones, be expected to arise? In general, when persons meet as equals or come to share a common goal or otherwise interact in terms of acceptable social roles. Much evidence, which we shall not try to document, supports these views.

1. White soldiers who have fought beside Negro soldiers were, in United States armed-forces studies, much less prejudiced on the average than were white troops who had not had this experience.
2. In race riots, in Detroit notably, it has been observed that interracial hostility was less in mixed residential areas (and in mixed schools) than in districts where the two races had not lived and worked together.
3. Studies of housing projects tend to show that whites and nonwhites who live in the same project are more liberal in racial attitudes and more friendly in interpersonal relations than are persons who live in one-race housing units.
1. Informal student get-acquainted programs, for instance, whites visiting Negro homes and clubs or biracial intercollege visits, show measurable increases in friendly attitudes. The same is true in Jewish-Gentile relations.

While the factor of selection needs to be considered, and while each of these conclusions needs limitation, our impression is that so-called "contact education" does change people. It is easy, however, to get mixed on this. An enthusiast for school trips, to illustrate, may believe that change takes place when it does not, or may exaggerate it, or see what looks to be a desired outcome swept away by untoward events.

To illustrate the caution just entered, we recall a sour effect that came from a thoughtless comment. A program of intercollege visits had been arranged after much correspondence between student leaders. These two colleges were in the South, one an all-Negro school, the other all-white. Ten Negro students visited the latter

college, went to class with students, stayed on campus overnight, had parties in their honor, all without precedent at this school. We have studied the papers written by these students and their hosts, and there is reason to believe that this experience went off fine, that it was worth while.

On the return visit a month later, white students arrived late in the evening at the Negro college. On seeing a lighted campus house, they pulled up and found a dance was being held. They were welcomed and plunged at once into the sort of small talk by which friends are made. All went well until more Negro students came, boys who had had no part in planning the college trips. On being introduced to a white visitor, one student said loud enough for all to hear, "Well, I do hope you are enjoying your *slumming*. Let me know what you want to see."

The party froze, and it was never really thawed out. The white visitor was hurt to think that she had been so misjudged, although admittedly white students may show at such moments a considerable naïveté. The incident was, of course, excused, and nothing like it happened again on the 2-day visit. Judging again from the papers these white Southerners wrote, this accident stuck in mind, leaving much uncertainty as to the worth of the intercollege project.

MASS MEDIA

We doubt the worth of much good-will material, the barrage day and night of news stories, commercial films, radio and telecasts, streetcar and hallway placards, form letters, leaflets, and the like. Many persons have developed a blindness and a deafness to such appeals, an indifference to them. People respond who already agree with what is said, and other people are hard to contact, to impress. Often, too, a propaganda idea gets twisted in perception, or even reversed, so that it comes to sanction whatever prejudice exists. We shall illustrate this in a moment, but first some general conclusions. Allport, long a student of this phase of intergroup relations, has reached views about like this:

Some Propaganda Principles^o

1. Whereas a single item—film, placard, brochure, radio broadcast—may show slight effects, successive items along the same line yield measured changes in which the sum is greater than the parts. This is the

^o Gordon Allport, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.

principle of *cumulative effect*, a pyramidal stimulation which argues for an ongoing program, a planned campaign. Results are likely to be best where, as in marketing research, each successive impact can be assessed.

2. In respect to *specificity*, it is clear that what is learned in one context does not carry over necessarily to another context. Abundant evidence on this is given in the analysis of the United States Army training-films program, for example, C. I. Hovland *et al.*, *Experiments on Mass Communication*, University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1949.

3. A third principle has to do with *regression*, the tendency of attitudes after a time to slip back to previous patterns. They do not, as a rule, go all the way back. In some studies, "gains" have been found a month, six months, or a year later. Regression may be offset somewhat by what is called a "sleeper effect." In the Army training-films research, these delayed learnings were most evident in the die-hards, the persons who at first resisted propaganda ideas but then "saw the point."

4. Propaganda is most effective *with persons who are on the fence*, concerned but undecided. It should have, if possible, a clear field, for counter-propaganda throws people back upon their own judgments of reality. It should allay anxieties by tying into individual security systems, and it should, where at all feasible, point to a clear course of action in line with end goals.

5. Many studies show the importance of *prestige symbols*, for example, linking campaigns to high-status persons and to accepted values, sacred and secular. To put this in reverse, the "kiss of death" can be given a cause or a movement by identifying it with "wrong" individuals or permitting them to make such identification.

There is, we think, much wisdom in these five points, as well as a deal of erudite research. They are not, however, the last word on anything, and students should be encouraged to scout about for new books and reports.

Propaganda is a one-sided appeal, thus less than the truth. Unlike give-and-take education, for example, a class discussion, it is not self-corrective in process. It must be adjusted constantly to changing attitudes and conditions, addressed to specific audiences. Its lack of dramatic quality, notably in preachment films, is often a limiting factor. Many writers on good-will campaigns urge that they be assessed, that ample budget be provided for this.

To pick up a point made earlier, the thought that an idea can get twisted, that its intended effect does not come off, consider the "Mr. Biggott" cartoons. These were designed for a national inter-group agency as a way of combating prejudice. Had they tested

out, they were to have been used on a large scale. They were judged, however, too tricky for use.

Mr. Biggott is a sour-looking old fellow, white, with average income, maybe a businessman.¹⁰ In one cartoon, Biggott glowers at an honor roll of American war dead. "Berkowitz," he says, reading off the names. "Berkowitz, Fabrizio, Ginsberg, Kelley—disgraceful!" In another picture, Biggott is sick in bed. "If I need a transfusion," he tells his doctor, "I don't want anything but blue American blood!" In a third cartoon, Biggott informs an American Indian that his business hires only "one hundred per cent Americans!" leaving the nation's original American completely nonplused.

On testing these cartoons, it was found that few mine-run adults got their point, that their antiprejudice teaching was either lost or twisted. For example, in one interview:

Q: Who do you think might put out such cartoons?

A: People who don't like Jews, for it's against Jews. Maybe against Italians. No, I guess it's against Jews. You hear more against Jews.

Q: What purposes would they have in putting out these cartoons?

A: To show that there are some people against Jews. To let other people feel free to say they're against Jews, too.

Here is projection, all right, but of the wrong kind! The propagandist's intention was misunderstood, or, in better words, a contrary meaning was given to the pictures. It may be that the subject felt himself to be like Mr. Biggott, thus felt threatened by the adverse reactions which he assumed that other persons read into this cranky old man. Thus, to save his own face, to keep his views intact, the subject twisted meanings. Some subjects agreed outright with Biggott's attitudes. They argued for the right of any person to be as prejudiced as he pleased.

PUBLIC CEREMONIALS

Public ceremonies, whatever the form they take, are a neglected area of research in modern life, a form of mass impression which analysts tend to underrate. In simpler societies, pageants, festivals, rituals, were an organic part of social life, the prime way of focusing

¹⁰ Four Biggott cartoons are printed in Eugene and Ruth Hartley, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, p. 58, Knopf, 1952.

group attention, of reaffirming common values, of teaching many basic virtues. While ceremonials still have this general function in our life, much of their potency has perhaps been lost. And yet, we cannot feel too certain about that, for, given the media of mass communication, millions of persons can be reached. An example comes to mind.

The Holy Name Society

In October, 1951, the Catholic Holy Name Society staged in Detroit what the press called the city's "biggest parade." This was a 6-hour march past City Hall, climaxing a 5-day program. All traffic was blocked off main thoroughfares, an attention-fixing event in itself, and thousands of persons lined the streets. More than 200,000 marchers, it was reported, passed in review, "wearing Christianity on their sleeves." Reference was to the depictions of sacred acts and symbols, such as Mass, the Rosary, and the Crucifixion. More than a hundred cities over the nation were represented by bands, floats, and banners. Old Glory and the Holy Name flag were carried proudly side by side.

The parade was viewed by high church dignitaries, along with ranking government officials, including Detroit's city mayor and council. The procession moved to the community's biggest outdoor stadium for an impressive candlelight service the splendor of which no few words can indicate. Homage was paid to Catholics who had played prominent roles in founding the city, and then came the report of the convention's resolutions committee.

One resolution stressed the importance of steadfastly maintaining morality in literature, in television, and in life. Another took exception to the statement of a United States Supreme Court justice that "all concepts are relative," that there are "no absolutes in modern life." Another was directed at the UN Declaration of Human Rights. It urged all Catholics "to protest the ratification . . . of any covenant which would allow a government to restrict, at the whim of officials or in the guise of emergency, the full exercise of religion and freedom," rights which Americans "have consecrated by the blood of their forefathers."

News handling of these events would be a long story in itself. By means of wire services, newsreels, radio broadcasts, feature stories, etc., words and pictures were spread over the nation and to distant places throughout the world. Through these same media, events were preserved in time, a guide to future planning and arrangements, a lasting testimonial to faith, thought, and ideals.

Surely such events do influence people, do change them in the directions desired. How much or how little change, who responds

and who does not, should not be impossible to answer, though costs of study would be considerable.

The size of national good-will activities, as well as the fact that they are dependent upon large and small contributions for support, makes the issue of evaluation rather urgent. Consider, for example, the program of one such organization, the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Data are taken from an NCCJ brochure for the year 1950-1951.

NCCJ Activities

Founded about 1928, the NCCJ now has over 60 United States regional and local offices. It has, of late, started brotherhood councils in Canada and in Europe. For 1950-1951, NCCJ budgeted its needs at 3.5 million dollars and raised over half this sum. Its staff services and grants-in-aid went into 12 separate channels: religious activities, schools and colleges, community services, mass communication, industry and commerce, offices outside the United States, armed-forces orientation, and others. The organization describes its work as a "scientific approach to improving intergroup relations," comparable to medical research in its diagnosis and treatment.

For the year under study, NCCJ reported 25,143 programs with a total attendance of over 5 million persons. About 9,750 schools participated in these activities, 1,201 colleges, 1,217 PTA's, 6,452 churches, 1,190 women's clubs, 860 youth groups, 280 veterans' organizations, 772 labor unions, and 1,061 other bodies. Over 8,000 radio programs were conducted; there were 12,944 exhibits of movies; and 3.3 million pieces of literature were distributed. No data as to effectiveness, *i.e.*, changes in people, are presented. The fact is that every large-scale good-will program finds it difficult, or impossible, to gather such evidence.

These statistics, like many figures issued by churches and schools, are item counts, for instance, 3.3 million pieces of literature. The need is to know *effects*, so that money, effort, and concern can be well spent. NCCJ is as conscious of this need as is any other agency. We have visited a large number of its regional offices, and we are inclined to think that much of its work will assay high, show up well under test, but this is admittedly speculative.

To return to ceremonials, Whyte's study of *Festa*, a reunion of Italians in Cornerville, a section of an Eastern city, illustrates one form of sociological study, the participant-observer method. Among the things he wanted to find out was the rationale of this great public ceremonial, where some thousands of persons marched

in parade, carrying a statue of their patron saint. Among the *paesani* whom Whyte interviewed, the one judged most representative said:

*Italian Festa*¹¹

The reason for the feasts is this. We want to renew and reinforce the faith of people in God. We want to make ourselves disciples of Christ, thus set a good example for the young. The child sees the *Festa* when he is growing up, and later he passes it on to his own children. . . . In that way, we help to preserve our religion and keep it strong.

Protestants pray directly to God. They say, "God knows us, He knows everything we do. Why should we [Catholics] not pray to Him?" Yes, God does know everything, but we are weak sinners. Why should He grant us the favors that we ask? Instead we pray to a saint, to a person once a human being like ourselves, whose holiness and sanctity have been proved in order to make him a saint. We pray to this saint who is without sin, who has led a pure life. We ask the saint to intercede for us, to be our advocate before God. . . . Some ignorant people think the saint can perform miracles. That is not true. The saint can only ask God to perform the miracles. God is a God of Mercy. If the sinner prays to the saint, and the saint stands right with God, then God takes pity upon the sinner and forgives him his sins. . . .

It is the same way in the material world except here you are dealing with material things. If you drive a car and the policeman stops you for speeding and gives you a ticket, you don't wait to go before the judge. You go to the sergeant, the lieutenant, or the captain—some person of influence—and perhaps the captain knows your brother or some friend of yours. Out of friendship, he will forgive you what you did and let you go. If the captain won't listen to you, you talk to the sergeant or the lieutenant, and he will speak to the captain for you.

The theory here is that Cornerville people are little people. They cannot approach big people, powerful people, directly, but must act through an agent, an intermediary. This is their patron saint. One does services for him, thus obligating him to make returns. Thus, a system of obligations is built up, a tradition that is kept alive. People are related to people, to clergy and saints, to God. This is theory, and it needs test. If it holds up on further study, something would be added to what is known about one kind of ceremonial.

¹¹ William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, pp. 270-271, University of Chicago Press, 1943.

WORK EXPERIENCES

What does one learn at work? Do work roles change people? Are worker attitudes and behaviors fitted to the job? Answers are yes, with data adequate and still building up. Main studies are those made by industrial psychologists, sociologists, researchers in group dynamics, personnel and guidance workers.

One way of studying work pursuits is *experimental*. Where adults have agreed to work in concert to increase output, whether these outputs be factory products, changes in family diets, revision of a school curriculum, or a community campaign to reduce prejudice and discrimination, results have been uniformly better than anything achieved by individuals working alone.

"I am convinced," writes Cartwright,¹² after reviewing much concrete data, "that future research will demonstrate that people working under cooperative conditions become more mature and creative individuals in their homes and in their communities." This quote interests us because it focuses on so-called "intangibles" in human relations. One lead to follow here would be the social-atmosphere (or group-building) approach to industrial problems as developed by Roethlisberger and others.¹³

Among educators, the *workshop* idea has been given much study. While a novel design will be cited in our last chapter, the conventional type of experiment is relevant here. The sample we shall use is a 6-weeks' project conducted at the University of California with graduate students.¹⁴

In this project, experimental and control groups were set up. After matching workshopppers and controls on nine counts, both groups filled in the Bogardus Ethnic Distance scale. At the end of the 6 weeks, the scale was given and attitude changes computed. Students had worked in small groups, heard visiting lecturers, made community studies and observations of race relations.

In order to report findings, an ethnic-distance quotient was obtained for each student by finding the mean of his reactions to the

¹² Dorwin Cartwright, in Cook (ed.), *Toward Better Human Relations*, Chap. 4, Wayne University Press, 1952.

¹³ F. J. Roethlisberger, *Management and Morale*, Harvard University Press, 1949. A more recent book, one organizing much research, is N. R. F. Maier, *Principles of Human Relations*, Wiley, 1952.

¹⁴ E. S. Bogardus, "Measuring Changes in Ethnic Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 16: 48-51, 1951.

30 groups listed in the scale. For the experimental group, the average EDQ was 1.65+ at the start of the workshop and 1.44+ at its close. Decrease in ethnic distance (or increase in friendliness) was .21, out of a possible decrease of .65+, a change referred to as "21 points." For the control group, the initial EDQ was 1.72+ and the end quotient 1.73+, indicating no significant gain or loss. Bogardus believes that the experimental gain was authentic, though we do not recall that any test of significance was run.

Perhaps the oldest way of studying workers, at least of selecting them for jobs, is some sort of *situational testing*. Jehovah improvised such a test, one to help Gideon pick warriors from some thousands of volunteers, as follows (Judg. 7: 4-7):

Those Who Lappeth

And the Lord said unto Gideon, The people are yet too many; bring them down unto the water, and I will try them for thee: and it shall be, that of whom I say unto thee, This shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say unto thee, This shall not go with thee, the same shall not go.

So he brought the people down unto the water: and the Lord said to Gideon, Everyone that laps of the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth, him shall thou set by himself; likewise everyone that boweth down upon his knees to drink.

And the number that lappeth, putting their hand to their mouth, were three hundred men; but all the rest of the people boweth down on their knees to drink water. And the Lord said unto Gideon, "By the three hundred men that lappeth will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hands," and He let all the other people go every man to his place.

And it came to pass that the mighty three hundred did smite the Midians hip and thigh, pushing them across the Jordan and out of Israel. Why the lappers of water were better fighters than other kinds of drinkers can be left to the reader.

An impressive use of situational testing, in conjunction with formal test data, is seen in the OSS officer-candidate program in World War II.¹⁵ The task was to assess large numbers of applicants in a short time, to match their abilities and ambitions with world-wide service needs. Having neither adequate job records nor follow-ups on placement, there was a lot of guessing done. And yet the

¹⁵ For the full story, along with theory, see Office of Strategic Services, *Assessment of Men*, Rinehart, 1948.

OSS groups have received much commendation in reviews of this wartime work.

In substance, OSS teams worked out a battery of tests, to be supplemented by other data and collated in staff conferences. Situational tests were a part of this program. One kind consisted of life situations, the kinds of skills specific jobs required, for example, to lead reconnaissance units, to overcome handicaps and barriers, to devise tactics. Another kind of test involved improvisations, chiefly sociodramas, in which work tasks were simulated. Stress was put on "can do" skills rather than on theory, and validation was mostly a matter of judgment. "Surely," the OSS authors argue, "the essential criterion of a good test is its congruence with reality."

School and college administrators, agency heads and others, have long depended on their own homemade tests of job fitness. Supervisors of student teachers are interested in such tests, though test standardization has been and is a difficult problem. Our own experimenting on this is not far enough along to report.

Another old and respected way of studying job learnings is by means of *work careers*, via autobiography or observation. Sociologists have made such studies of saleswomen, restaurant workers, musicians, teachers, and so on. From collections of life histories, they have shaped career stages and reported job learnings and adjustments at each phase of generalized careers. College teachers, with their interest in students, could readily secure work documents like the one we shall now give. Its writer is a college junior who was employed five nights a week as a bouncer in a big mid-city dance hall.

A Dance Hall Bouncer

This place where I work is the Vanity, a big public dance hall. They sure have a system for dealing with trouble, one that was taught me right off from A to Z. When lights flash on and off on the prom ceiling, that means go to the head of the stairs. You might find there a belligerent drunk, a bunch of zoot-suiters, or whatever. Lights on and off the columns mean trouble at the fountains, such as a short-change complaint. A blink from certain special lights means the men's lavatory, two blinks something happening at the checkrooms.

After learning the light system, I was taught about the dancing. Joe, another bouncer, took me with him on the floor. No improper dancing was permitted, no nuzzling, no spinning, nothing of this sort. Some kinds

of dancing brought a warning to stop, others to sit out one dance or more, and still others—where we got back talk, you had to put the couple out.

I was next taught the manner of handling drunks. This time, Nick was my teacher, for these men are specialized. "Never," said Nick, "tell a man that he is drunk." This would mean, he explained, a fight with him, for it is an insult. "Tell him he's had a few beers, a coupla drinks, huh? He'll laugh at you, grab you by the neck, and tell you he's had 20 beers, topped off by a fifth!" "Whatever he says," Nick continued, "you say that he will have to take a rest. Move him gently toward the door, arm in arm, kiddin' with him as you go along."

Two times out of every three, Nick believes, the guy will come with you, though for women the ratio is reversed. If a man has to be put out, there is a system for that. Two bouncers, since we work in pairs, signal up another one, mostly Nick, the old-timer on the floor. One guy waits at the bottom of the stairs to open the door. The other two take the arms of the character and start him on a run toward the door, where he is then shoved down the stairs. Quickness in all of this—surprise more than force—is the thing, so that the guy lands on the street before he knows what is happening to him. It is against rules to hit a man, unless there is a gang fight.

Forcing a cutup to leave a crowded ballroom is a bit more complex. The management does not want a fight or any show of force, so that some scheming is called for. You find out, by trying this and that, what the cutup will respond to, and if you are lucky the problem is solved. Otherwise, you isolate this guy from his pals, crowd him over friendly-like toward a wall, then sneak him out. A man may ask to say good-by to a friend or give a car key to him. If we let that happen, we'd have a bunch of men on us like scat. Another thing, don't throw a man out or let him leave without his coat and hat. He'll come back with a cop and then, brother, your trouble begins!

When classmates asked this student the kinds of characters that gave him the most trouble, he wrote a second paper. In his experience, Filipino men caused the least trouble, in truth, no trouble unless white girls fell out over them. Negroes caused no more than their share of trouble, mostly in defending themselves against white toughs. Most trouble came from kid gangs of "Irish punks," boys too big for boys but not big enough for men.

My partner and I had a system for handling them. Suppose there's three, four, of these punks. They start out all right but get loud, drink too much, or blow a weed or two. Anyhow, Tex, my pal, walks over. He

weighs in at 232, a mountain of a man. "Now, boys," he begins in his slow drawl. "Now boys, we want you-all to have fun. Yes, suh, fun! That's what we're here for. But boys, you can't cut up like that. We gotta have order in the place! That's my job and, 'course, I need your help." If the boys crack back, Tex never bats an eye. He repeats his warning, waggles a finger at them, and moves on.

Next trip over, the treatment is rough. "Now boys, you know I love you, I really do. But boys, you don't know how to act so I'm gonna throw you out." By this time, Tex has his arms around two or three kids, including the ringleader, pushing them together, rounding them up. All at once, he grabs them tight, squeezes them hard if they start to punch or kick, and carries them to the door. I have the door open—that being my big job!—and the boys are dropped on the sidewalk. All the time, Tex is smiling, his smile a yard wide, but the boys don't miss the point. As Tex wipes his hands over the scrambling kids, he explains again that his job is to keep order. He invites them to come back if they can behave.

What about the musicians themselves? What are they like to work with? Pleased and surprised at class interest in his job, the student wrote a third report.

The musicians are a special lot. I jam with them sometimes after work, playing a clarinet. They don't like any outside criticism of their stuff, any tips, or the like, from the people they call "squares." Squares are people who are everything the real jazzers don't want to be, everything in every way. Musicians think of themselves as a special breed, a group set apart from the world at large. They possess, they think, artistic talent, a mysterious gift, so that the better they are the less anyone can tell them how to play. You can't tell a guy how to play unless he has gone commercial, which is just a way of saying that he has sold out to the big-shot squares. "Sold his soul" is the way it's usually put when these guys are alone, talking to their own kind.

Since musicians know that they are different, they are not bound by the usual conventions. They tell the damndest stories you ever heard, the crazy things they do, their love life, the antics of squares. Their stories travel, getting bigger as they go. The greater the character a guy becomes, the better he is liked and the more eccentric he gets. I suppose you know that musicians have special ways of dressing and a special kind of talk. They don't make friends with dance-hall patrons, at least not with very many of them. They fear moon-struck girls like poison, in spite of what you read in the papers about them.

Aside from those who are downright commercial, I think these guys are all in revolt, all on the defense. Most of them come from older American

stocks, the Irish, German, and Swedish, though I can name you Italians, Negroes, and Jews who have played at the Vanity or met at Nitzzy's for a jam. They don't hold no prejudice because of color or like that. Dago, Jew, Irish, nothing matters to them. One of their big characters is "Nig," a colored man. "Only squares have prejudice," they say, and "to hell with squares."

We have let this case run on because it illustrates some important points. Job learnings are the most practical learnings one may ever get. They go deeper, last longer, cover more of life, than anything out of books. They are there, awaiting teacher inquiry, though more must be done than the mere collection of job-history reports. Why school and college teachers do not study these data more than they do has long been a mystery to us.

SCHOOLING

With chapter space going fast, this section will be confined to some statistics on formal school and college programs. During the four years of College Study work, efforts to change people, to teach better intergroup relations as defined in Chapter 1, spread over many activities. At times the approach was direct, as in a teaching-testing program. At times it was indirect, a change in institutional policy or in forms and records. It was assumed that changes of this latter type might have a scope and permanency not found in experimental teaching, that a new "frat" policy, say, might catch incoming students for years of time.

Table 32. Change Projects, Failure and Success*

Type of project	All projects	No change	Some change	Major change
Course content, school and college.....	83	22	37	24
Specific teaching methods.....	68	9	43	16
Campus activities, clubs, and programs.....	64	5	23	36
Personnel and guidance practices.....	20	2	6	12
Student teaching, community experience.....	34	6	10	18
Area action projects, school-community relations.....	37	16	12	9
Summer and off-campus workshops.....	44	30		14
General policy, official forms and records.....	12		4	8
Miscellaneous projects and activities.....	17	4	7	6
Total.....	379	94	142	143

* From Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, p. 84, American Council on Education, 1951.

Table 32 is an evaluation of 379 change projects. This is a part of College Study activity, that part on which data were adequate for this type of assessment. Elsewhere, categories have been defined and criteria specified. Suffice it to say here that appraisal has been made in terms of pre- and end-test changes, on-the-spot observations, and cumulative file records. What the table suggests is that *intergroup education can be made to pay off* in terms of desired changes in individuals, in school and college atmospheres and practices. Since these institutions were selected as representative of all teacher education, findings should be encouraging to every intergroup educator.

Let us now compare College Study change efforts with the best academic work on record. Rose has culled from the literature 66 school and college studies in prejudice reduction.

Table 33. Experimental Attempts to Reduce Prejudice*

Influence	Total	Change	No change	Indefinite
School or college course.....	13	8	4	1
Influence such as films or radio.....	14	9	4	1
Personalized contacts, trips, visits.....	9	3	3	3
Correlation studies, knowledge (or acquaintance) with attitudes.....	12	9	2	1
Years spent at school or college.....	18	8	6	4
Total.....	66	37	19	10

* Adapted from Arnold Rose, *Studies in the Reduction of Prejudice*, p. 18, American Council on Race Relations, Chicago, 1948.

Well over half the studies in Table 33 showed reduction in prejudice, a way of saying that teachers were able to gain measured increases in friendly, liberal, democratic attitudes and understandings.

In view of the run of evidence, we come to the conclusion that education, in the sense of planful efforts to change people as earlier defined, can improve human relations. It can deepen intergroup understandings, liberalize attitudes, flow over into actions. We do not mean to imply that gains in any of these areas are large, or easy, or certain. While some learners are moving in one direction, others will be going in another. A number, apparently, are standing still, slipping some here, edging up there. And yet, all things considered, it is time to stop being mystical about our teaching efforts.

Educators can diminish prejudice. That is the point to emphasize, without burying it in pedantic qualifications.

What teaching methods are most effective? It will be clear, as we move on into methods chapters, that this is a complex question. Teacher personality counts often for much more than method, and it is extremely variable. For our part, with our very limited experience, these are our choices. In terms of the kinds of learnings discussed earlier, the *KVSJ* complex, we shall take academic education, namely, good readings, good lectures, good thinking, for increases in knowledge. For the remainder—values, skills, judgment—give us well-managed group-process training under teacher-leaders who know how to lead. Community study, audio-visual aids, and other devices and methods are strong assets in either case.

INDIVIDUAL THERAPY

Someone has said that "no patient comes to a therapist to be cured of a prejudice." However, some degree of cure is a predictable effect of therapy where prejudice intersects with a major neurosis or psychosis. Early in psychiatric treatment, a patient may enter a phase known as "negative transference." He blames his doctor for his frustrations and aggressions, hates him for his detachment and nonpunishing attitudes. If the therapist is a Jew, the patient may become very anti-Semitic. But as he learns to talk about himself, his experiences, defenses, and motivations, his negative fixations tend to diminish.¹⁶

A similar process happens in guidance interviews in schools and colleges. One can see youngsters with the symptoms of adult neurotics—hysteria, displacement, projection, suppression, etc. The novelty of school guidance work, in contrast to much classroom teaching, is its permissiveness. For the moment, for the first time in his life, a teen-ager can talk about himself, all his crazy ideas, without an Old Man of the Sea riding on his back. As this person's confidence increases, he will reveal data heretofore guarded, as well as make more valiant efforts toward his own self-cure. He may, of course, do nothing of the sort; one can speak only in terms of probability.

¹⁶ It is possible that novelists have written more about this than have psychiatrists. See, for example, Arthur Miller, *Focus*, a novel about a Jew who did not want to be a Jew.

Guidance work takes time. It takes more time, more skill, than educators have, so that at best they do it only so-so. They can, however, spot deviant individuals, study them, and, if necessary, bring them to the attention of specialists in the mental hygiene field. If this sort of therapy proved to be—as on a priori grounds it should be—the most effective way of changing people, or re-educating them in human relations, the number of persons reached would not be large. Under present conditions, only the well-to-do can afford its costs.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. What do you think about teachers as change agents? If one teaches anything to anybody, that is change making, isn't it? Changes take place in learners. Which is the greater problem, changing persons or changing culture, for example, altering the conditions of life for people in a school, a community? Should teachers try to change culture?

2. Turn back and study Fig. 9 again. Draw up your own perspective of the methods you now find in use to change people. Where is our diagram wrong?

3. Make a class report on Goodwin Watson's *Action for Unity*. It is a sharp little book and has been very influential.

4. Where do you stand on this matter of legislation? Should we in education oppose it, support it, or ignore it? Try to tell exactly what you think.

5. Find illustrations of the propaganda principles outlined in this chapter. Take them from the intergroup field if you can—press, radio, etc.

6. Arrange with your professor to have members of your class write about their own work-for-pay experiences.

7. Have you heard of industrial sociology? Is it prolabor, promanagement, pro neither? A good start on this is J. L. and H. L. Wilensky, "Personnel Counseling: The Hawthorne Case," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57: 265-280, 1951.

8. What kinds of trouble for minorities do "hatemongers" make? Read Arnold Forster and B. R. Epstein, *The Trouble Makers*, Doubleday, 1952.

9. Should every public school with a minority enrollment have an explicit policy on intergroup relations? Why, or why not, should such matter be put into writing? Superintendent C. D. Lutz, Gary, Ind., tells what he thinks in *School Executive*, 69: 44-45, 1949.

10. What kinds of childhood problems can teachers handle, what kinds should be referred to psychologists or others? A good book is Charlotte Buhler *et al.*, *Childhood Problems and the Teacher*, Henry Holt, 1952.

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CHAPTER 9

A Theory of Human-rights Teaching

Unless we can agree on what the values of life are, we clearly have no goal, and without goals, the discussion of methods is merely futile.

—JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

Equal rights for all and special privileges for none.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

One problem in changing people is a choice of methods, an issue introduced in the past chapter. Another problem is the direction of change, the moral intent. That there is doubt here in intergroup education, doubt, confusion, and evasion, is an obvious truth. It is true of our society, hence of our institutions, including public schools. One can find some sorry programs in human relations, a lot of aspirations, a flow of words, a mighty scampering about. There is little or no insight as to where the work is going, how things add up.

We are a bit old-hat about this. There is good and there is evil. There are right and wrong ways of treating people, though the crest dividing them may be at times hard to find. At any rate, in school-program planning, we have had to search for this, to figure on directions. And so, a warning. For scientists who do not go for this sort of hunting, the chapter might be read in terms of logic. Where does our reasoning break down, ideas get sticky, the fog set in? We hope some intergroup educator will do what we may fail to do, *put moral principles into clear writing*. Thinking should be kept clean and ordered; otherwise it is pretty much a waste.

Of several curriculum approaches—interests, needs, life experiences, current problems, and so on—we have been able to do most with a human-rights orientation. This is not at present a popular

view; in fact, it would be hard to name a school or college where as much is made of it as it offers. Nor are rights per se sufficient; other concepts must be added. The two main concepts are duties (without which no rights are possible) and democratic ideals, the roof over us, the topmost ceiling. Let us see now what can be done with this approach to school and college business in the human-relations field.

DECLARATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

To Harold Rugg, long-time battler for human well-being, reading the Truman Committee report *To Secure These Rights*¹ was a notable event. The volume was, he wrote, "most exciting," "a great document," "a perfect textbook" for citizen education. As Rugg warmed to his theme, he compared this report with Magna Charta, that historic statement of liberties wrested from old King John. He urged that every teacher get this "powerful instrument" and use it as a "militant weapon" in the ongoing, old-new fight for freedom.

It is, indeed, an exciting experience to move with a school or college class through this intelligent document. "Nothing important is left out," said Max Lerner, "nothing troublesome or embarrassing is evaded." There is, in sum, no double talk, no jabberwocky. The volume starts with a preamble on the worth of the individual in our way of life. It then affirms the nation's moral obligation

. . . to build social institutions that will guarantee equality of opportunity to all men, for without this equality freedom becomes an illusion. . . . We can tolerate no restrictions upon the individual which depend upon irrelevant factors such as his race, his color, his religion, or the social position to which he is born.

The President's Committee goes on to assert:

There is no essential conflict between freedom and government because man is endowed by his creator with certain inalienable rights

- the right to safety and security of the person
- the right to citizenship and its privileges

¹ Report of the President's Committee, 1947. This book can be had for 1 dollar from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., or from Simon and Schuster, New York City. See Rugg, *Progressive Education*, 25: 75-77, 1948.

—the right to freedom of conscience and expression

—the right to equality of opportunity

To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men. . . .

Are these rights the guaranteed privileges of all Americans? The answer in the report is an unequivocal *no*, *not fully*, not in respect to minorities, especially Negro Americans. Many are "half citizens," citizens on limited tether. Facts and figures are given, names, dates, places. The whole is impressive. In every area of common legal rights, we, the American people, fall short of our expressed ideals. The Swede² has said this, said it well, and as remarked earlier, he has had a considerable reading by educators.

There is need now to check on perspective, to keep the picture focused. Our ideals are high ideals, very high, and the nation's movement toward them is genuine. Change is not as fast, not as many-sided, as a liberal might wish, yet our progress is not slow, not small. "Our Constitution," as Charles Beard has written many times, "makes it possible for the American people to have more justice, despite the black marks on it, than any other people have enjoyed over such an immense territory and for so long a time."

To conclude with the Truman Committee report, what shall be done about present shortages, neglects, negations, discriminations? Here these distinguished citizens did not cross up their own logic. On the contrary, they meet the basic issue head on. "The national government must . . . take the lead in safeguarding the civil rights of *all* America," a task in line with our democratic traditions, the great documents of our history, Supreme Court decisions. The report recommends many specifics for legislation, for administrative and other reforms.

While this much-debated document fits our national scene better than any other, thought can be broadened by citing another controversial report. This is the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*,³ a UN manifesto which not even the Soviet bloc opposed at the time of its adoption in Paris in 1948. "This declaration," states Baldwin,⁴ "reflects for the first time in history a common agree-

² Gunnar Myrdal *et al.*, *An American Dilemma*, Harper, 1944.

³ Copies in quantity lot cost 1 cent each. Address, in the United States, Information Center for the United Nations, 220 W. 45th St., New York City, and Department of Public Information, United Nations, Lake Success, N.Y.

⁴ Roger N. Baldwin, "The International Outlook for Civil Rights," *The Annals*, 275: 155-161, 1951. For intracommittee debate in formulating the statement, Eleanor Roosevelt, "Making Human Rights Come Alive," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 31: 23-29, 1949.

ment of all but a few nations outside the Soviet orbit." If today its principles fall short of American ideals and entitlements, then it must be remembered that the world is large. People are different, customs are different, as only foreign travel can disclose. National self-interests vary, though to trace this assertion through would carry us far afield.

In its beginning, the *Declaration* recognizes the dignity, the worth, the equality, of all people; their aspirations for a better life. It affirms the need to protect by law essential human rights, to develop understanding and cooperation among nations. Thirty articles specify "common standards of achievement," standards which their advocates hope may be written some day into substantive international law. Items cover political-civil rights, plus newer economic, social, and cultural rights. We shall quote only Article 26, dealing with education.

1. Everyone has a right to an education. Education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available, and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups, and it shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Up to this writing, UN principles are not law. They are binding only in a moral sense on signatory nations, though a covenant with provisions for legal enforcement has been debated. The greatest effect of these UN goals has been the educational uses to which they have been put. They have been broadcast the world over, notably in English-speaking countries. In the United States, they have been flooded into schools, at times over the objections of organized opposition.

In our nation, countless groups—religious, good-will, educational—have drawn up their own declarations. A sample is the list of the NCEA, of which we shall quote the first part, the first six points.

*NCEA Resolutions*⁵

Basic, inalienable, imprescriptible rights:

1. Of worship in accordance with conscience
2. Of freedom of expression and communication in accordance with truth and justice
3. To freedom from undue search and seizure
4. To petition of grievances
5. To life and bodily integrity from the moment of conception except in just punishment of crime
6. To religious formation through formal education and association

The kindest thing a critical thinker can say about all such lists—and there are scores of them sacred and secular—is that, like Leacock's famous horseman, list makers ride off in all directions. This, then, is the first danger to be faced by educators and others who want to give the rights concept a technical meaning. For our part, we shall keep it to the sociological sphere, use it in its legal and quasi-legal meanings. Beyond these rights, we shall speak of ideals.

RIGHTS AND RELATED CONCEPTS

Organized schooling has been, and still is, largely subject centered. The idea was to master lessons, to learn what great minds had thought about. Under the influence of Dewey and others, education has shifted toward personality development. In so doing, educators have spawned a number of orienting concepts, interests, needs, wants, attitudes, values, and the like. Before going on with this, let us pause once more for perspective.

There is reason to believe that Dewey's most influential book may prove to be an early writing, *Democracy and Education*. In it the author develops the thought that education is a process of cultural transmission, the way a society renews itself, re-creates its life. If education is so viewed, it has two great functions. It prepares the young for social living, and it preserves society by maintaining balance between the old and new, change and stability. The problem for Dewey, and for us, is how to devise a brand of schooling which will contain both the individual and society, the person and the group.

⁵ Edward A. Fitzpatrick, "The 1951 Convention of the National Catholic Educational Association," *Catholic School Journal*, 54: 180-181, 1951.

To get on with business, a listing by Brameld is interesting to analyze.

*Human Wants and Values*⁶

1. Most men do not want to be hungry; they cherish the values of sufficient nourishment.
2. Most men do not want to be cold or ragged; they cherish the value of adequate dress.
3. Most men do not want uncontrolled exposure either to the elements or to people; they cherish the values of shelter and privacy.
4. Most men do not want celibacy; they cherish the value of sexual expression.
5. Most men do not want illness; they cherish the value of physiological and mental health.
6. Most men do not want chronic insecurity; they cherish the value of steady work, steady income.
7. Most men do not want loneliness; they cherish the value of companionship, mutual devotion, belongingness.
8. Most men do not want constant drudgery, monotony, or routine; they cherish the value of novelty, curiosity, variation, recreation, adventure, growth, creativity.
9. Most men do not want ignorance; they cherish the value of literacy, skill, information.
10. Most men do not want continual domination; they cherish the value of participation, sharing.
11. Most men do not want bewilderment; they cherish the value of fairly immediate meaning, significance, order, direction.

There is artistry in this list. There is good thinking on man's nature, good insight and coverage. But what kind of stuff are we dealing with, what is the author's general logic?

Items are of two parts: "wants" and "values." As these terms are used, they seem to us to mean much the same, since wants (or values) can be both negative and positive. Men do not want to be hungry; they want food, *i.e.*, *not* to be hungry. What the list says, then, is that men want what they want, which adds little to the sum of human knowledge. Items might be called anything—wants, needs, beliefs, values, whatnot, without of course diminishing whatever worth they have as a catalogue of universal strivings. To hold that this list is inductive may be a bit farfetched. A truly inductive listing might be drawn from a sample of people (valuers) in some

⁶ Theodore Brameld, "An Inductive Approach to Intercultural Values," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 21: 10, 1947.

sort of poll. Persons would be induced to say how strongly they felt about their wants, needs, values; what they would do (or give) to achieve them here and now.⁷ It may be a long time before educators can work from any such list. Meantime, they will store up bits of data and go on guessing about the unknown, as they have always had to do.

Now, for the main point. When an educator decides, if he does decide, to change over in his thinking from estopped wants, needs, etc., to rights-duties and ideals, what changes has he made? (1) He has left individual psychology for social science fields, especially sociology. He has moved at least to middle ground, a social "social psychology," for rights are clearly a way of relating individuals to groups, people to society. (2) He must concern himself with our national heritage, for it embraces our democratic strivings. (3) Most important, he is on the way toward picking up a study procedure for dealing with many realities, a ground-level approach by which ethnic and other discriminations can be gauged.

Unlike wants or needs, rights have external sanction. They exist out there, in time and space, awaiting study. They are man-made, man-changed, a matter of public opinion, of law and court action. "The prime function of law," as Dean Roscoe Pound has often said, "is to secure and maintain individual rights." *Rights are the entitlements of all citizens under the law.* For these people here, those people there, regardless of their creed or color, common rights either do or do not exist. It is hard for anyone to get mixed on this, to flub it. If just this much were understood by students, if it were accepted by them, many minority problems would cease to bother us as social-moral puzzles, though how to restore rights to deprived and underprivileged persons would still remain as an action problem.

APPLICATION, TEST CASES

Before adding to the rights idea, relating it to still other concepts, a case or two may help in getting a feel for what has just been said. We shall not cite the usual teacher-type case, say, a teacher and class studying the Truman Committee report. Cases of this sort will be given in later chapters. The idea now is to turn over in the mind the concept of rights, to get used to its feel and

⁷ For a plan to arrive at values by polling the nation, see Stuart C. Dodd, "On Classifying Human Values: A Step in the Prediction of Human Valuing," *American Sociological Review*, 16: 645-653, 1951.

taste. Here is a sampler to start with, an incident reported by the teacher of a seventh-grade group.

Who Is Subversive?

In preparing a unit on international understanding for my seventh grade, I wrote first to UN headquarters and then to a number of embassies for materials. I used school letterheads, giving the school as my address. As materials came in, the school mail clerk brought them to me. As I checked them over, I noticed the complete absence of anything on Russia. Since I had written to the Russian embassy, I began to wonder about that.

On inquiry, the clerk told me that this material had been taken by the principal, that I had better speak to him.

On speaking to the principal, he said it was not wise for the school to have such material, that the children would talk, that I would be judged subversive. One thing led to another, and I got indignant. I asked him what he thought we were to teach? His answer was to teach what is safe, what is uncontroverted. At this, I really did blow up.

To teach what no one disputes, say, the alphabet, is all right, sure. But what is the alphabet to be taught for? If literacy is not to be used for citizen education, for world citizenship, of what earthly good is it?

The fact that this was a Negro teacher in a mixed school, the principal being white, is, we judge, incidental to the case. We want now to try an experiment, to suggest that a reader say out loud these lines, savoring their flavor as he speaks: This teacher *wanted* to teach about Russia. This teacher *needed* to teach about Russia. This teacher *had the right* to teach about Russia; it was *her duty* to do so, as she saw it. Does the term right have a tang that is different from want or need? Does it smell of Old English yeomen, of King John's court, of the Boston Tea Party, of the most vital parts of our nation's past?

Let us now take a longer, more complex case. This is a very incomplete report on an exciting, and tragic, campus event, a type of case that might be located in any one of many universities in these present troubled times. The writer is a very mature college senior. She is well acquainted with Mrs. X, the principal figure in the case.

Good Campus Citizenship

I shall tell at once why I am writing this report. It is not to pass still another judgment on Mrs. X. Whatever she believes, I think she's had much too much of everyone's advice. What I want to know is how we

students should behave when the whole nation is as excited as it is now. Why, in ten years, maybe one year, this crazy communist scare, this hunt for subversives on university campuses, will look as silly as anything.

Before I go on, I want to state that I know Mrs. X, that I have been in two classes with her. She is a well-behaved person and very active in student social-action groups, political and otherwise. I have heard that she has attended some youth meetings abroad, though I have no personal knowledge about that.

When the House Committee on un-American activities came to ———, they subpoenaed various persons to testify. Among them was Mrs. X. The Committee came to inquire into subversive activities and public hearings were held. It was an agency of government and was, I think, entitled to citizen cooperation. But Mrs. X felt otherwise, for she refused to answer the famous question if she was, or ever had been, a Communist. She based her stand on her right under the Fifth Amendment, which says that a citizen does not have to give evidence against himself. I quote from a statement which she read:

"I have been subpoenaed by the House Committee. This Committee is calling me in an effort to smear ——— University, of which I am a student, and to smear other students. In this way, they hope to intimidate the students who are striving for academic freedom on the campus, and who will soon hold a constitutional convention in an effort to realize this aim."

After making other points, Mrs. X concluded as follows:

"Young people of America recognize that the future of America belongs to them, and they are conscious of this responsibility. They don't intend to sit idly by and watch our country follow the same path of fascism and war that was followed by Hitler and Mussolini, who also started by throttling the pursuit of knowledge and freedom of expression of students and faculty members of the nation's schools."

I should add to this partial record one point. Asked by a Committee member if she took their questions seriously, Mrs. X said frankly that she did not.

When this news appeared in print, I can tell you that our campus began to buzz. I do not know what went on in the President's office, only that he sent a telegram to Mrs. X, as follows:

"We are informed that you have refused to answer the questions of a duly constituted investigating body on the grounds that your answers may incriminate you. This indicates either an unreasonable refusal to cooperate or a prima facie admission of criminal action on your part. In either case it is inconsistent with the obligations of responsible university citizenship, and accordingly you are hereby suspended from university

membership pending such official review of this action as you may request."

In due time, Mrs. X appeared before a deans' committee. She admitted, or so I have read, that she refused to answer questions at the downtown hearing, that she did not take these questions seriously. She offered no new defense, no further explanation. A letter was reviewed which, in the meantime, had been distributed to the student body. It carried her signature and read in part:

"The reason I refused to answer any questions regarding the Festival before the Committee is that if I had answered one question, I would have waived my right under the Fifth Amendment, and I would have been forced (under threat of contempt of Congress and a year in jail) to answer other questions, such as 'Who else was at the Festival?' or 'What students and faculty supported your trip?' This would have meant becoming an informer against my fellow students. I refused to do this."

So far as I know, these are the essential facts. I should add that Mrs. X was expelled from the university. The reasons given were not, or not "solely," her deliberate refusal to answer the questions asked, for she had that constitutional privilege, along with its consequences. The reasons for her dismissal as a student in good standing are stated in an official report on the case.

"Unwarrantedly arrogating to herself an unauthorized role of speaking for ——— University students; improperly using the name of the University; spoke in a manner disrespectful of a properly constituted governmental body and in a manner inconsistent with good university citizenship."

University authorities have, I guess, exercised the power vested in them by law to control student conduct, exercise their right and duty to protect the university community. At any rate, this is the end of the case. Mrs. X has been expelled, but we continue to mull over events, to wonder now just where we students stand. Surely, a university must maintain high standards, moral and otherwise. But surely, too, students have rights, faculties have rights, and these rights cannot be taken from them.

I wonder now, just what rights we students do have?

People can come apart in moments like this, unwind, spill out, like an overtight spring. Maybe that is why such events have happened, to show us what kinds of persons we are, to take our measures. Certainly, this is a complex case. We cannot try to untangle it now, much as we would like to analyze it. It is put here for discussion, the aim being to set up a situation in which students can begin to think in terms of rights-duties and ideals. It is hard

for us to imagine a more exciting classroom panel than one held on the question with which the X case concludes.

RIGHTS, DUTIES, AND LAW

Rights rest on law, as was said. They seek to define justice, to peg it down for the commonweal. There is law for the nation, law for the states, law for cities, for rural areas, for farms. There is law for everybody, everything, including children in all phases of their life. We shall have to pass over all this, suggesting that a college group get in touch with, say, a juvenile court judge or other judge and invite him to speak to the class. We shall try to make four points.

1. Whatever justice is, it is human. It is fallible, changeful, ethnocentric to an extent. So, we suspect, are our legal rights. The main reason is that each of us is less than perfect. None quite measures up to the Golden Rule, the Sermon on the Mount, the best that is in us. We shove and push, clamor and howl, usually in the name of seeking justice, of securing our rights. There must be, obviously, some umpire in our disputes, someone to define equities, to establish and maintain order. This is where government comes in, all the people speaking for us all. Customs too are a force, for laws rest on them, grow out of them.

2. Justice Holmes's comment that freedom of speech does not include the right to shout fire falsely in a crowded theater, suggests the duties concept. No right is absolute. Every right is exercised within limits. To possess even the most commonplace right, say, that of crossing a traffic lane in safety, one must respect the right of motorists to drive on the go sign. We should have one word, *rights-duties*, for neither a right nor a duty can exist without the other.

3. To develop the above point further, a right is not effectual in itself but only in relation to the responsibilities which it entails. This is because rights spring not from the separate persons who possess them but from the social order, from men in society who consider themselves obligated to one another. If these obligations are not recognized, if minorities, for example, are forced to live as less than full citizens, their claims against us (on our society) do not lose moral force. Duty is still clear. But if a right goes unrecognized, it ceases to exist, to have sanction in law or in custom. We reason, therefore, that duties, obligations, and responsibilities

must have come before rights. Rights must have been, as they still are, subordinate to them, supportive of them.

4. Two rights are often found to be in conflict. An example is the privilege claimed by Mrs. X not to testify under the Fifth Amendment and the university's insistence that she do so, that she co-operate with government in its fight on communism. Where rights conflict, one or the other may have to be limited via some exercise of authority, some judicial ruling. Put in other words, where rights bump noses, they must be brought into balance. This may mean limiting one, either voluntarily or by constraint, so that the other can be enjoyed. The question is how much personal freedom shall we give up *and for what*, thus posing a most difficult issue.

RIGHTS AS A BASIS OF POLICY

The only point above we wish to go on with is the last one. Rights are not policy, not necessarily so. They are a basis for policy decisions, for program planning, as a short illustration will make clear.

At a conference of industrial psychologists, labor leaders, and others, a personnel man made the point that ordering workers about was inefficient, that there were better ways of getting jobs done. To make his case, he told about a factory manager who needed two of a certain three girls for Sunday work. Should he name off two of the girls, tell them to report? "No," the speaker said, "explain the problem to them. Let them talk it over and decide who will work."

When this procedure was followed, it turned out that all three girls had dates, that none wanted to work. With further talk, it was found that one girl had a date with some other girls. The second was to meet her fiancé, the third was going out with a new man. It was the first two girls who agreed to work, even though both outranked the third girl in seniority. The speaker took pride in this way of handling the problem, calling the course of action humane, equitable, democratic.

Later on, a labor union official referred to this same case. In a very few words, he put a different face on the whole issue.

If that factory had been organized, the problem would have been handled by asking the girls whether they would be willing to work on Sunday. There would have been no implied assumption that the girls' dates after working hours were any less important than the employer's

production problem. If the girls were not willing to work after regular hours, the employer would have been expected to seek a different solution for his problem. This makes the real difference between true democracy, where power is distributed, and play-acting democracy, where all the problems are solved on the basis of the satisfaction of the employer.⁸

Mr. Gomberg, the labor spokesman, did not argue for "good human relations," as that phrase is sometimes used. He said nothing about worker morale, employer beneficence, union-management cooperation, and so on. He spoke for worker rights, worker entitlements under contract. This is the point to note, along with the brittleness of his speech, the strained atmosphere.

Our point is far more general than a student might think. First, it must be clear that a rights viewpoint tends to change the character of human relations, to put people on an independent, self-respecting basis. Second, claims and counterclaims are faced as issues, brought into the open. Third, issues are bargained over, often in a mood of hostility, though not inevitably so. Fourth, the end of such bargaining is almost always a compromise of some sort, an adjudication of rights and claims, though no bargainer sets out to compromise. His aim is to get all there is to be had. Finally, our society is moving fast toward this kind of social system.

What has been defined above is a power-sharing concept of democracy, a realistic bargaining morality, in distinction, let us say, to a sentimental, good-will point of view. Thomas Jefferson is often quoted in support of power sharing. "Our good health," he has written, "does not lie in the idyllic cooing of the lion and the lamb." Our well-being rests, he felt, "in the mutual distrust of contending interests," in the bargaining that goes on about a conference table, assuming that contestants are fairly evenly matched, that both parties possess power.

The great question for us in teaching is how far we go with this, where we are prepared to set limits, if we feel limits are needed for, in the last analysis, most human relations must rest on faith in people, on mutual confidence. Speaking only for ourselves, we feel just as has been said. Rights are good and we stand on them, but they are not sufficient in themselves. We cannot, in sum, do without the added concept of democratic ideals. Rights are

⁸ William Gomberg, in Arthur Kornhauser (ed.), *Psychology of Labor-Management Relations*, pp. 36-37, Industrial Relations Institute, Champaign, Ill., 1949.

first, the minimums people can expect, after which comes ideals, though the two cannot be separated in any arbitrary manner.

EXTENSIONS OF DEMOCRACY

It is time now to relate rights-duties to democracy, to show especially that we live in a social system of expanding democratic ideals. If rights are the "musts" of a society, and duties its "shoulds," then ideals are its ever-dynamic "oughts." We ought to be better than we are; we ought to be perfect. "Ideals," said Carl Schurtz, "are like the stars. We never reach them but, like the mariner of the sea, we guide our course by them."

Ideals, then, are aspirations, the moral, ethical, spiritual ceilings we aspire to; and, it might be added, education in all its many forms is the traditional stairway up. We can imagine no kind of intergroup work, certainly none that a teacher would undertake, which does not center in conceptions of a common good, a better life. Our word for this is "democracy," an embracing term, swallowing up much that people everywhere value and revere.

Lindeman⁹ gives in brief space a perspective that every student should master, that he should add to as he wills. This author indicates, first, that democracy is no simple thing. It is a culture complex, a composite of many elements. These elements are of diverse origins, seedbeds far apart in time and space.

The theme of democracy has been nourished from many and different sources. Some of its values may be traced to religious beginnings. The notion of personal dignity is, for example, basically a religious conception. The idea of equality appears to stem from mystical sources. Liberty is primarily a political idea, and fraternity has both religious and romantic antecedents. Jewish, Greek, and Roman thought have each in turn made significant contributions to democratic doctrine. One may find democratic principles in the philosophy of Confucius.

Lindeman next urges an "unfreezing" of democracy, an application of democratic thought to all aspects of human relations. It is here that resistance develops, some persons preferring to keep the concept within its traditional meanings.

⁹ Eduard C. Lindeman, in Cook (ed.), *Toward Better Human Relations*, Wayne University Press, 1952. The three following quotes are from Lindeman's Chap. 2 in this volume.

They balk when it is suggested that political democracy needs to be buttressed by economic and cultural democracy. They would feel happier if government, business, and culture could, somehow, be kept within separate compartments. They have become accustomed to government democracy, but when the notion of equality is expanded, for example, to include racial equality, they are confronted with the arduous necessity of changing certain deeply ingrained habits and this becomes painful. But it is one of the requirements of a dynamic idea that it must continue to expand, or else it will wither and die.

To Lindeman, as to others, the issue just stated is a vital issue. Democracy as either ideals or practices is dynamic, expansive. It cannot be confined, any more than can the growth of a living organism. It can be shaped, directed, or speeded up, a function that rests on one's learnings from life experience as well as on science teachings. The author's linkage between life and learning is via an ancient term, what the Quakers call "discipline." If democracy is to thrive, at least three disciplines must be learned.

1. Under democratic conditions, one should seldom expect the perfect realization of ideals. . . . Solutions to problems in group relations are always partial, one reason being that all sides must be brought along, must share in policy making.

2. Democratic experience appears to demonstrate the fact that diversity is superior to uniformity in a society. . . . Science also sanctions the diversity principle, since it is often nature's final test of fitness for survival.

3. Experience, again, seems to provide assurance in respect to the doctrine that the means must, in so far as possible, be compatible with the ends sought. . . . In Emerson's words, "means pre-exist in ends," *i.e.*, they are defined in the character of the ends.

If, now, we may comment, the author has submitted here ideas which are testable in social science terms. We can think of little that would profit a democratic people more than to put these claims to empirical test.

This line of thought has, perhaps, been carried far enough. At the core of democracy are ideals, and ideals are dynamic. They beckon rights on, so to speak, the ultimate being not a perfect universe, a heaven on earth, but a rule of just law, a society ensuring justice for all.

Ideals live in a certain kind of climate, an atmosphere of friendly feeling, of respect for personality, of cooperative action. They im-

ply a faith in leaders, a conviction that men in power will do the decent thing. Rights advocates, extremists or purists, whichever word is better, make no such assumptions. They want to know if rules exist, if not how can they be put on the books. Human relations may be taut, with parties alert and suspicious. We are reminded somehow of some famous lines as rewritten by a very pugnacious little fourth-grader: "La on, Makduf, an' damn be he hoo first crys stop, hold on there, enuf!"

CHOICES AND IMPLICATIONS

It has been the aim of this chapter to begin rights thinking, to lay a theory framework for teaching human relations in and about the school. We shall not, however, overdo this; we shall not select rights cases in the chapters on teaching methods to the exclusion of other school approaches. That would not be fair to the educators we seek to represent, for they are of different points of view.

As a test case of the view we have been advocating, let us study a sample of how many liberal teachers feel. This is a statement by a committee of New York City teachers, a guide to policy and practice in city public schools.

*What Teachers Should Do to Improve Human Relations*¹⁰

1. Let each of us turn the searchlight of conscience upon himself, examine his own conduct in relation to persons who differ from him racially, nationally, and religiously.
2. Let the head of each school set the example of openmindedness, of fair play, of neither bias nor prejudice, in his relations with his teachers, with pupils, and with the community.
3. Let each level of the educational staff be made conscious of its obligations in fostering humanitarian practices, and be encouraged to offer its best thinking in our efforts to establish proper understandings.
4. Let us minimize school incidents [conflicts] when possible. An epithet hurled by a child in a tantrum may be ignored, whereas to magnify it may put ideas in the minds of pupils. Handling serious incidents needs a special training.
5. Let us make use of folk songs, folk dances, etc., to show similarities in racial, national, and religious observances.
6. Let the present procedure in course of study revision include specific reference to the contributions of each race to world literature, the

¹⁰ Summarized from a report in the *American Schoolboard Journal*, 120: 26, 1950.

- fine arts, music, and so on, so that our children may come into contact with the heritage of every ethnic group.
7. Let us encourage discussion among pupils of religious holidays of Jews and Christians, thus show the relation of these events to moral ideals and conduct, as well as create respect for different creedal beliefs.
 8. Let us cooperate with religious organizations of all faiths, and with all lay groups, which have as their aim the creation of mutual understanding and respect.
 9. Let us lead students to discover the outstanding contributions made by different groups to the advancement of our society. Identification of each group should be unobtrusive and delicate.
 10. Let us as teachers assume leadership in combating prejudices and bigotry as divisive forces which militate against democracy. This leadership should be kindly, patient, and persuasive rather than militant and aggressive. It should exemplify democratic philosophy.

We have selected this list not because it is weak but because it is strong. It is a very fine statement from a liberal standpoint, a much better platform than we have helped many schools to build. While we print it with our blessings, we admit to a discomfort, an anxiety that is hard to put in words. All the great symbols are here—conscience, fair play, open-mindedness! We thrill to them, of course, as do most Americans. But what do they mean? What, in any last-ditch stand, can one count upon?

Should a teacher “ignore” an epithet hurled by a child in a temper tantrum or otherwise? Surely, until he (or she) can make a plan, get at the causes of such behavior. Does handling “serious incidents” need special training? Right, it does, but what if a teacher has not had this training? Do nothing or do the best one can? Are “cultural heritages” to be paraded before children, marched on and off the stage like some dizzy Disney characters? Or are they to be studied, to be assessed? Is democracy always “patient and persuasive”? We doubt it, we do doubt it very much. We have fed too long on Moses and the prophets; on Milton and John Donne; on Burke, Pitt, Jefferson, and Walt Whitman.

Yes, we admit to an unease about all such lists. Too many of them are fair-weather charts, pointing the way when the road is clear. What they do not tell us is what to do when the heat comes on, the storm threatens. No one of us can make things happen the way he wants them, not all the time, not a tenth of the time. But

he can make choices often after things have happened; he can learn in retrospect. What list makers need to do is to define their outer limits of tolerance, and if this were done, it would be hard to escape the realm of rights. We do not urge anyone to go beyond his depths but simply to make clear where he draws his lines, how he is and is not prepared to fight. It is his privilege to make any choice he wishes.

If a teacher does stand for legal rights, for full and equal citizen privileges, what will he do? First, he would find out what rights people have and what obligations they must meet. This is not as hard to do as one might think, in fact, a reading of the Truman report should set a student well on his way. Other readings can be found, for there is an amazing literature current and historic on human rights. Other channels are obvious—a talk to class by a judge or lawyer, court visits, and the like.

Next, we think some surveying may be called for. Which children or adults, it makes no difference, possess which rights? Where do shortages, neglects, discriminations exist? This is *ABC* research, simple inventory making. We shall illustrate this at somewhat higher levels in cases later on. College students are good at this kind of fact finding. They love the feel of hard, cool data at their finger tips, the in-class process of counting stuff out, working it into shape.

Third, a teacher may not go for community study. All right, let him turn inward on the school, studying his own classroom, extra-curricular activities, and the like. For example, does he teach rights-duties by practicing them? Do students have legitimate claims on teachers, teachers on students? If so, what are these reciprocal bonds, these expectations as to conduct? Does a kind of contractual relationship exist? Is that really what a good classroom is? If so, how can one learn to identify these matters, to talk about them, to study their effects?

Fourth, and with this we close, once any kind of evidence is amassed, learners at all age levels face a difficult issue. What is to be done? To illustrate, take a campus where fraternities have restrictive membership clauses, where Negro, Jewish, or other students are excluded. What is to be done about that? Should one make a note on it, measure it, and analyze it in the academic manner? Or, after making sure of facts, should one start change action, try to get fair play? Why are we studying such problems

anyhow? Is the idea to solve them if possible? Or must one forever keep an open mind, searching for more facts? This is a very important issue. It is, in part, a question of the load one wants to carry on his back.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Why, do you suppose, did not the Truman Committee report put more emphasis on the role of colleges, schools, and intergroup agencies in securing and extending civil rights? Must government take the lead?

2. Are minorities in your home town or in your college community fully protected in their legal rights? Your class might undertake an area survey.

3. If you are interested in learning more about state and Federal laws in relation to minorities, we suggest Morroe Berger, *Equality by Stature*, Columbia University Press, 1952.

4. Do you personally know of any case like that of Mrs. X? If class time permits, analyze such examples from a rights-duty and ideals point of view.

5. While it is impossible to keep up with happenings in the struggle of minorities for equal common rights, one or more students might write to national agencies for recent materials and reports. Explain to them what your interest is, what readings you would like to have.

American Association on Indian Affairs, 381 Fourth Ave., New York.

American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, New York.

American Council on Race Relations, 32 W. Randolph St., Chicago.

American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York.

American Jewish Congress, 212 W. 50th St., New York.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Ave., New York.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., New York.

National Catholic Educational Association, 1785 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.

National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Ave., New York.

National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York.

U.S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

6. Should grade school children be taught their duties and their rights? Write for a U.S. Office of Education Bulletin 1951, No. 9, *How Children Learn about Human Rights*. Does this bulletin, in your judgment, propose a good teaching plan?

7. Talk with some labor and management spokesmen about worker rights and duties. How far can you go with their respective points of view?

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CHAPTER 10

Academic Approach to Learning

Beautiful is the flight of conceptual reason through the upper air of truth. No wonder philosophers are dazzled by it . . . and look with disdain at the low earth from which the goddess launched herself. But woe to her if she returns not to earth's acquaintance. Every crazy wind will take her and, like a fire balloon at night, she will float out among the stars.

—WILLIAM JAMES

Some children were making May baskets. "Oh, no, Terry," the teacher said. "Not that way. This way," showing the boy how to paste on a diamond. To another child, "Now, Mary Lou, you've spoiled your basket. See, it doesn't have a handle!" When this little individualist said she did not want a handle, the teacher told her that all baskets have handles. Going back to Terry, who had stopped work, she finished pasting on the diamonds. She moved about the classroom, inspecting baskets, holding up the pretty ones for all to see.

What is academic education? If it is formal instruction, the mastery of skill and knowledge content by direct effort, then it is not limited to colleges. It is found at every grade level. For several chapters, we shall study teaching methods in intergroup relations, starting with the academic. Each method is a plan for conducting education. "Like any plan," writes Dewey, "it must be framed with reference to what is to be done and how it is to be done." We shall examine these plans in terms of concrete cases. After this has been done, we shall raise issues and make suggestions which may lead to the improvement of school and college teaching in this field.

PUBLIC SCHOOL CASES

The true academician is a reader, a person who loves books. Most of our school and college textbooks are, we suppose, tops, but now and then there are bad ones. The case below tells about one of these bad books. The writer, the teacher of the class, is just out of college. Because of unusual circumstances, she was hired a day or two before school opened and, in effect, handed her textbooks.

A Picturesque Textbook

I am writing about a fourth-grade textbook, one required in most X-city schools. In the preface, the author states: "The aim is not to force facts on children but to stimulate their imagination and curiosity with a picturesque treatment of the subject so that they will desire to further their study of the social studies."

Chapter 3 is entitled "The Hot Land Where the Africans Live." I shall quote enough to show you the anti-Negro bias of this book, a bias I am sure is due to ignorance and not to intent.

"Across the Atlantic Ocean, far from the United States, is a country called Africa. It is a mysterious land. It is the land where the black people live. Not only are the people different from us but the way they live is different because their country is not like ours.

"The great valley of the Konga River in Central Africa is one of the hottest places on the earth. Perhaps you would think it so hot that you would not want to live there. Maybe you would not like a home in a country where it is always warm and where there is no winter.

"There are some negroes in the United States. Have you ever noticed that they have large dark eyes, rather flat wide noses, and thick lips? That is the way the people in Africa look, for that land is really their home.

"Slim, kinky-haired children play around their grass homes without wearing any clothes. Sometimes the fathers and mothers wear a strip of clothes made of cotton, bark cloth, or fiber, around their waists.

"Perhaps you think the little negro has no way of dressing up, but there you are mistaken. Sometimes he puts red earth or castor oil in his thick fuzzy hair. Sometimes he paints his face or smears his body with clay or ashes. Sometimes, when he is older and he wishes to look very smart indeed, he files his teeth into points! Carved bones and bright beads make beautiful jewelry, these people think, and brass, iron, or copper rings worn around the neck, arms, or ankles are considered stylish. When going to a dance, both the young men and women often put feathers in their hair and tie tinkling bells at their wrists, knees, or ankles."

So much for quotes. My fourth grade is mixed Negro children and white with fathers who are employed in factory work. My problem has been what to do about this "picturesque textbook." I should talk with my principal, I am certain, but I can't this first semester give the impression that I do not know how to teach school. Chapter by chapter, that book has made us real trouble, as an incident will show.

A while ago, when we went over the chapter I have quoted, class reactions were very bad. At recess that day, it was raining and children stayed in or about the room. I was correcting papers when I heard a white boy talking to a Negro girl, both members of my fourth-grade class. Here is, almost word for word, the way that talk went.

White: Nigger, nigger. Susie is a nig-ger nig-ger (*singsong*).

Negro: I ain't neither no nigger. You're a nigger.

White: Nigger, nigger, where's your bells? Shake your bells, Susie.

Them your bells? (*pointing at the girl's breasts*).

Negro: Go way, bad boy. You're bad. My ma'll fix you. I'm gonna tell and you'll see.

White: Come on, gang (*but his pal did not stir*). Let's make ol' Susie shake her bells.

Negro: Go way, you ——— (*picking up an inkwell*).

White: Come on gang. (*Then, struck by another idea*): Take off your clothes, Susie, like in the book.

Negro: I won't neither. Just try to make me.

White: OK, Susie. Go back to Africa where you come from.

Negro: I won't neither. You go there.

White: I don't have to. It ain't my country. It's yours.

This case goes on for several pages, but we shall break it here. We like these concrete materials, so much so that we shall try presently to make a general school-problems book out of them.¹ Dangers now are two. Since cases are space taking, only a few can be given. It would be wrong to consider our selections as typical, to generalize from them as to what schools are like. Second, cases reported by teachers are perhaps more descriptive of teacher attitudes than of objective conditions, at least one should in safety so assume. Other cases, those based on our own observations, we can vouch for as conforming to rigorous truth.

¹ Reference is to a collection of over 5,000 cases gathered since 1946 from schools and colleges. About three-fifths of these are teacher reports, with the remainder coming from our work with school and college groups. Tentative title of the book is *Solving School Problems in Human Relations*, to be published by the Dryden Press late in 1954.

In the case given, the teacher began corrective action. She went back to Chapter 3 in the textbook, faced it head on. Were American Negroes really like what the author implied? For that matter, did the author know much about Africa? We shall not detail this, for students can readily figure it out. Here is another case, one written by the teacher of a twelfth-grade social-civics class.

Seniors Study Human Rights

On the first day of class, I held up a newspaper reprint of the Truman Committee Report *To Secure These Rights*. Only two students had ever heard of it. I asked this senior group to name some of the rights they had, and then I asked whether all the people they knew had these same rights. Differences of opinion were very evident, some students saying yes, some no. What are a citizen's rights? This led to our first assignment, a reading of the civil-rights report.

On the next day and for several days, we discussed rights up one side and down the other. I told the class as much as I knew or could find out, the meaning of rights, their history, the rights most in question today. We spent several class sessions talking about who had rights and who did not. This put the problem where I think it belongs, namely, in the field of majority-group and minority-group relations.

At this point, we began intensive study of six basic rights—the right to safety and security of the person, to citizenship and its privileges, to freedom of speech and assembly, to equal work pay and job opportunities, to educational advantages, and to freedom of conscience and worship. We found that any one of these was bigger than we could handle, in fact, it could have occupied all our class time.

Our method of work was to identify these rights in terms of everyday community behaviors, the things that people did and said and felt. Local newspapers were brought to class and analyzed for cases. For example, in respect to "safety and security" most of our cases dealt with charges of child neglect, delinquency, and dependency. We invited a judge of the juvenile court to come to class and talk about these cases. He said that most of them fell into the "low economic group," that Southern whites coming in to work in factories were the worst offenders, with Negroes next. He said that all parents were treated alike, that no parent "can ignore the responsibility that comes with raising children."

Another illustration is the right to work. An example is a father of a fourteen-year-old boy, a man born in Poland. He wrote a letter to the newspaper, demanding the "right to let his son work for pay." A class committee interviewed officials of the state Department of Labor and the city Board of Education. What we found out was that the boy did have

a right to work at any job classified as nonhazardous and noninjurious to the health and/or morals of a minor. All this boy had to do was to secure a work permit. On interviewing a Board of Education attendance officer, our students were informed that 4,095 work permits had been issued so far during the year to boys in the fourteen- to fifteen-year-old group.

The idea in this part of the course was, as I have said, to see what current practices were. After this, we began a study of what could be done toward teaching better citizenship. What the course has tried to do is to instill in students a concern for people, their duties as good citizens.

This type of school and college case is commendable, yet it may deal only indirectly with prejudice and discrimination. Teaching can be pointed so far toward citizen education, or general education, that it misses altogether the intergroup emphasis on race, creed, and national origins. The example given does not do that, but it would be improved by some better theory framework such as suggested in our Chapter 1. The teaching plan is more academic than not, though community study is mixed in. Much good teaching is mixed, so that a classification of methods must be based on dominant emphasis.

A VALUE-CONFLICT UNIT

On college cases in particular, we shall have to settle for less detail than can be wished. Here is a portion of a college course, one unit in a six- to eight-unit 4-hour semester course. The teacher is an educational sociologist, a person well known in the intergroup field. After an introduction to the course, a unit similar to our Chapter 1, students select a topic on which to work. All topics conform to the 6-point plan, which we shall illustrate in respect to economic adjustments.

Studying Economic Adjustments

I. The Frame of Common Beliefs

What do majority-group members believe about minorities, and vice versa? Students devise their own study plan. They make an opinion survey and they read the literature. After this, study-group members usually write up what they have found and then meet to analyze the data. If more data are needed, the project group breaks up into subgroups of, say, two students each. More reading or more interviewing is done.

This same procedure is followed in other areas of the course, for example in units on leisure pursuits, education, and religion.

Popular beliefs are both pro and con. After a good sampling has been made, the study group builds an *AUD*-type check list. This is given first to our whole class, then to small samples of campus and community populations. Responses are scored and percentage tables made on agree, uncertain, and disagree responses.

II. Minority Workers: Status and Trends

In this phase of the work, each study group seeks facts. For example, are Negroes lazy? Do "foreigners" work for less than native whites? Do Jews control the money market? What is the truth, what do comparative statistics show? We use United States census figures here, along with journal articles and textbook writings.

III. Work Conditions, Current Issues

What demands on people are made by various kinds of jobs, say, factory assembly-line work, businesses, and professions? Here the study group analyzes the technology of employment, along with the "social conditions" as Elton Mayo uses that term. Since these factors are too vast, too variable, to cover in detail, subgroups tend to focus on a few occupations, for example, domestic service, small business, schoolteaching, and the like.

IV. Economic and Social Well-being, Handicaps and Progress

What are the main human handicaps, personality factors, which tend to unfit individuals for this or that kind of work pursuit? How does class status, for instance, affect these human differences? How, in concrete cases, do minority members fare in their struggle to advance? What are their legal rights, their entitlements under law? At what points is law, or law enforcement, defective from an equal-rights view?

Within the past decade, what progress has been made toward equalizing work opportunities? What regressions? All such trend data should be factual and well documented.

V. Furthering Economic Changes

Here values enter explicitly into thinking. What are the needs of specific minorities, for example, the Negro? What governmental, community, and educational agencies are concerned with need meeting? What are they now doing so far as their programs can be observed? Students interview some of these public officials and agency heads. They not only describe local programs but try to assess their worth. Of most

interest to them is public education, the way it functions or fails to function in these ameliorative change efforts.

VI. *Reports to Class*

At every step of the way, we meet together from time to time as a whole class. I try to keep the several study groups together, but some tend to lag, others to push ahead. The whole class is used to work on common problems, for example at one point—when it is relevant—I lecture on the theory of making an *AUD* check list. The final report of each group is mimeographed and distributed. It is then presented and discussed in class.

This type of course centers on value conflicts, on ingroup views toward outgroups. Work can be as good, as deep going, as the example indicates, depending, we suppose, on the brains and industry put into it. The aim is not merely to find facts and to recite on them, as is the rule in text-reading classes; nor is it only to theorize on data, to build a body of organized knowing. Facts are evaluated from an equal-rights view, after which change-action programs are proposed. There is no test of these action ideas, a matter that is always difficult to manage. Student learnings are indicated on some sort of examination, often on teacher-made check-type mid-terms and finals.

ACADEMIC EDUCATION, GENERAL

Schooling is no longer, if it ever was, Socrates walking in the market place, quizzing this or that citizen. It is more like the teaching of Plato or Aristotle, men who assembled students for purpose of amassing and passing on knowledge.² Whoever the academician is—scientist, philosopher, whatnot—he is an informed person, a man (or woman) of knowledge. He is an authoritarian, his authority resting on what he knows or knows how to do. His unswerving aim is to instruct people, to help them make the most of their mental faculties.

What is academic teaching? If one opens the door on this type of classroom, what is he most likely to see? He will see the teacher in a command position, the center of attention. He will be impressed with the flow of teacher talk, the wall of learner silence.

² A good reading is Gilbert Highet, *The Art of Teaching*, Knopf, 1950. A criticism of this author, a college teacher of literature, as of most writers on academic teaching, is that he seems to believe that there is no method of teaching other his own, i.e., the academic.

The class will look more like an audience than like an active, purposing group. Learning is mainly symbol mastery and concept use, a process of abstract thinking. It can and often does become a struggle for high marks. One may marvel at teacher competency, the elegance of design, the depth of knowing, the seriousness of intent. He may marvel, too, at mounting student anxiety. Students tend to sweat out a course, knowing that the course belongs to the teacher. It is his field, his teaching plan, his assessment of results.³

In one survey of 266 professors in five social-science areas in 30 American universities, teacher work time was spent as follows: in teaching and administration, 66 per cent; in research, 22 per cent; in all other activities, 12 per cent.⁴ In terms of teacher interest, teaching, research, and writing, each ranked at the top; in fact, they ranked about equal. Student conferences, campus committee work, and community services ranked low. Questioned on research motives, first place to curiosity, fourth place to practical problem solving. Asked what their choice of a lifework would be if now they were to select a career, 85 per cent named their present teaching field. Only 2 per cent listed a nonacademic work pursuit.

What is academic education? To add to what has been said, let us try to type the courses on which we have College Study file data. These were college courses on intergroup relations, in all a total of 55. They were found mostly but not wholly in sociology, psychology, anthropology, education, and social work. Classification is based in part on course descriptions, in part on visits to classrooms and talks with professors.

Types of College Courses

1. A pure science orientation, disclaiming any moral values. Inductive, conceptual, seeking to further student understanding.
2. An applied-science emphasis, focusing on current problems and adjustments. Commitment to but not unreasoned advocacy of some scheme of moral values.
3. A faith-inspired viewpoint, moving from some fixed center of truth and right. Scholastic, learned, dogmatic.
4. A pseudo-science course, preachment. Strong moral bias, anti-intellectual, exhortation at its worst.

³ A highly relevant empirical study is John W. Riley *et al.*, *The Student Looks at His Teacher*, Rutgers University Press, 1950.

⁴ J. G. Manis, "A Quantitative Note on the Academic Role," *American Sociological Review*, 16: 837-839, 1951.

The last type of course should, perhaps, have been omitted from the list. It is fraudulent instruction, a fake. Our third category above is most questionable, most in need of definition. Rather than describe at length a college course, we shall cite a fascinating autobiography, that of Father Ildefonso, a Passionist monk, who became late in his life director of the International College in Rome, a position of honor in the Roman Catholic Church. The writer tells at length about his training for ordination, a mode of teaching, learning, and living which he carried over to his various college teaching posts.

*Scholastic Education*⁵

Our study was planned to give a fair foundation in all human knowledge, and a thorough training in history, philosophy, canon law, theology, and the Scriptures. Great emphasis was laid on Latin because the liturgy of the Church and most of the textbooks in philosophy and theology were written in that tongue. After we completed the classics . . . two years were concentrated on the study of philosophy. First a thorough course in Scholastic philosophy, founded on Aristotle, and started with a basic training in logic and epistemology, then followed by general metaphysics. . . . Then we had special metaphysics, or cosmology; psychology—the applied variety just coming into vogue . . . then natural theology, and finally ethics. Although our text was Aristotle as presented by the Schoolmen, we made a pretty fair study of other schools of philosophy as their theories crossed ours. . . .

I doubt if any other two years of my life were so fascinatingly engrossing as those two spent in the study of philosophy when, as a young man, I delved into the great mysteries of existence, into realms of thought and speculation utterly new to me, seeking the ultimate whatness and why-ness of the universe. . . .

Could it be that one flaw in our system of study—one existing in practically all human teaching and study—was that we studied from a fixed, known center of truth accepted as right, whereby we sought to prove and elaborate the most highly developed instrument invented by man: namely, Scholastic logic . . . ? From this certitude of grasping truth, we studied Plato and Plotinus, Kant and Hegel, Berkely and Hume. Not with sympathy, not objectively, not supposing for one moment that they might be right, but rather to find out wherein they were wrong and to refute them.

Tettermer, now dead, was no doubt a brilliant man. We do not understand his mysticism, hence cannot explain why he left his

⁵ John Tettermer (Janet Mabie, ed.), *I Was a Monk*, pp. 87–88, Knopf, 1951.

church. But what seems clear is the rigor of his training and of his teaching, though our brief quote does not deal with his educational career. One should read the book to understand this.

What distinguishes this type of teaching, gives it rationale, is that it starts from a fixed center of truth, a faith in revealed truth. Second, its line of reasoning is deductive, or, more exactly, it is scholastic, the logic of refutation. We believe this is a form of academic education, though it differs from all experiential sciences and philosophies. The Redden-Ryan textbook⁶ applies this general viewpoint to intergroup work.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEXTBOOKS

Academic education, to repeat, is heavily text-oriented. During College Study years, over 3,000 copies of a book list were mailed out, mostly to individual teachers at their request.

In a survey of the literature in use, Howard Wilson and associates examined some 315 textbooks, course syllabi, resource units, etc., fourth-grade to junior-college level.⁷ In general, materials showed little evidence of prejudice and discrimination, a finding in line with our own observations over the past decade.

To be more specific, it was found that few authors were clearly biased toward any minority group, yet the value judgments inferable from their writings "often tended to perpetuate antagonisms current in American life." In 21 history books, to illustrate, the story of certain minorities, for instance, Filipino Americans, was entirely missing. An average of 12 lines was given to Jews, with Spanish-Americans given slightly more. Negroes, in particular, were often stereotyped. As a rule their social problems (crime, poverty, etc.) were played up, their work and other contributions played down. American creedal differences were not discussed, thus avoiding a main point of tension in our life. Americanization was consistently stressed, with cultural pluralism scarcely mentioned.

The Wilson researchers ventured the opinion that book publishers were not biased, not anti-Negro, anti-Jew, and so on. They were in business, printing books to sell. The committee recommendation was for a "concerted facing of the textbook problem,"

⁶ J. D. Redden and F. A. Ryan, *Intercultural Education*, Bruce Pub., 1951.

⁷ *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Material*, American Council on Education, 1949. Bibliographies by grade levels are now, in contrast to 1945, abundant, the best being perhaps those prepared by Dr. Hilda Taba and her staff.

a counseling together of publishers, authors, teachers, parents, and children. For more than a year, conferences were held with publishers and others along the lines of study findings.

While this study is not above criticism for inexactness of design and rating method, it is the best we have to date.⁸ More penetrating analyses are confined to very narrow fields, for example, Mosier's work on McGuffey readers. From 1836 to 1920, it is said that 122 million copies of these "lessons" were sold. It is estimated that more than half of all young Americans were brought up on these schoolbooks, making the Bible their only competitor in shaping young minds. Mosier's main findings are given in a succinct summary.

For the political conceptions of the McGuffey readers, one must turn to the broadening ideas of middle-class apologists, to Harrington, to Locke and Blackstone; for the particular adaptations to American culture and the developing capitalistic economy, to Hamilton, Marshall, and Webster. For the theological conceptions of the series, one must turn to the rigid system of John Calvin, while the morality may be sought in the middleclass Protestant ethic of thrift, industry, and hard labor; and in such canons of success . . . as good Puritan divines could recommend. . . .

The social virtues belong to the human impulses of the great Hebrew-Christian tradition, with accretions from the diverse humanitarian currents that swept through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In all of this, we have sought to emphasize that the McGuffey readers were a product of American culture, the leading ideas of which had been passed on from older and more stable generations, and that the ideas of the readers were but diverse manifestations of this underlying pattern.⁹

The McGuffey readers were conservative, "siding with the propertied interests." They were pro-national spirit, pro-middle class, pro-Protestant. What impresses us even more is that McGuffey, his compilers and editors, omitted entirely the ideas of Jefferson and Jackson, the radical democrats of those times. That this was done is inferrable from Mosier's study, in fact, it may be more significant than most of the findings he tends to stress.

⁸ The only fairly broad, comparable study is Marjorie B. Smiley, *Intergroup Education and the American College*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. We have been unable to tell exactly what this survey of liberal arts colleges is about. It is mostly, we judge, an argument for including "intergroup education" in "general education," whatever that may turn out to be.

⁹ Richard D. Mosier, *Making the American Mind: Social and Moral Ideas in the McGuffey Readers*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947.

PROBLEM OF COURSE EMPHASIS

A major problem to grade and high school intergroup educators is the kind of course that should be taught. The issue is its focus, not its methods or materials, for teachers are well up on these. In respect to either goals or procedures, we have found no dominant teaching plan, none in use by as many as a third of the schools in the thousand or more schools we have surveyed. Mostly, of course, there is no intergroup work, no systematic instruction in this field.

ABCD ELEMENTS IN TEACHING

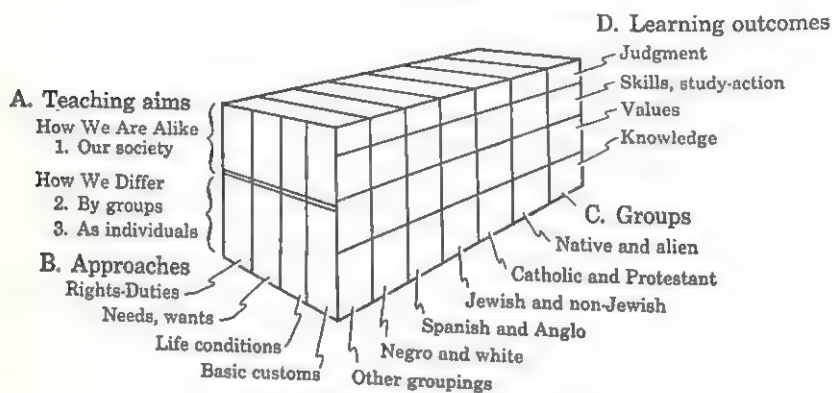


FIG. 11. Teach-as-you-please outline.

This is changing, though it would take time to document the trend.

Our thought on this matter of focus can be seen in Fig. 11, a kind of teach-as-you-please plan. The idea is that a teacher will select from some such listing of elements those best suited to his particular situation.

In A, the first of four dimensions in Fig. 11, we raise again a question of crucial interest in many schools. Should children be taught how they are alike, *i.e.*, as Americans, or how they differ as members of groups and as persons? For our part, we believe that they should be taught all three. Young people, as they mature, need to learn our likenesses and our differences. They need to learn also their group identities and their individual uniqueness. Any one of these without the other two is bad education, leading finally, we imagine, to unwonted effects. Public schools will tend to stress, no doubt, our commonalities, whereas other schools (Catholic, Jewish, and so on) will be inclined to emphasize minority values.

B categories are what teachers might call "approaches" to their work. One way to organize learning experiences is via "customs," for instance, Jewish holy days such as Yom Kippur, Hanukkah, Purim, Passover. Any kind of customs could be studied—food customs, dress habits, games and sports, anything of interest. Other approaches are suggested in *B* titles, including a study of citizen rights-duties and ideals.

C titles indicate groups of interest, and *D* concepts point to the kinds of learnings commonly expected. This has been called a "teach-as-you-please" outline on the assumption that teacher tastes will differ, that pupil needs and social conditions will vary in time and place. While this may seem rather vague to teachers who are looking for a curricular formula, we doubt if anyone should try to be much more precise. For our part, we do not know enough to say more than has been said, to furnish ingredients for an instructional plan.

DOES KNOWLEDGE CHANGE BEHAVIOR?

A central issue in "academia," as in every kind of schooling, is whether knowledge changes behavior, whether people tend to act on what they know. This is an old, old issue, one that will outlast us all. We like to hear our students debate the question, placing their bets as they wish.

One way to initiate discussion is via two interesting letters, the start of a debate still in process. In his review of a book by Franz Boas, *Race and Democratic Society*, Professor Leslie White, an anthropologist, was much too critical to suit another professor, also a Boas student. Here are Stern's letter and White's reply.

*Stern vs. White on Boas*¹⁰

To the Editor

Leslie White's strictures against Boas . . . go too far in this book review to remain unchallenged. The passages in question read:

"Boas fought race prejudice for almost a half century. . . . Yet it cannot be said that Boas ever gave an adequate scientific explanation of racial antagonisms, and I know of no evidence that will show that all of his efforts diminished race prejudice by one iota. Most of Boas's writings on race prejudice have a single and simple theme: the irrelevancy of

¹⁰ In *American Journal of Sociology*, 53: 496-497, 1948.

racial affiliations in cultural and mental life. He proves again and again that differences in behavior between such groups as Jews, Negroes, Nordics, Chinese, etc., are not explainable in biological terms. But most, if not all, of this preaching is futile—futile because it is wholly irrelevant.

"Race prejudice is not engendered by an ignorance of anthropometry or neurology, and is not curable, therefore, by learned dissertations on these subjects. . . . Boas's attack upon race prejudice is like an attempt to rid a psychopath of the delusion he is Napoleon by demonstrating his belief is scientifically . . . unsound. But the delusion arises from other sources and causes, it merely expresses itself in this particular form."

If White knows "of no evidence that will show that all of his [Boas's] efforts diminished race prejudice by one iota," he is merely confessing an abysmal ignorance. . . . In the early decades of the century, American university courses in sociology gave considerable credence to, and had on their required reading lists, such books as Madison Grant's *Passing of the Great Race* and Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color*. The premature findings of eugenists were also propounded uncritically. Boas's findings were initially given merely as a dissenting point of view. Yet, by dint of irrefutable documentation and tenacious reiteration of a few basic themes in the field of race, Boas and students who followed his lead reversed the judgments of most scholars, discredited the racialists, and put their academic counterparts on the defensive. The fact that Grant and Stoddard were acclaimed as influential theorists in Nazi Germany but became *persona non grata* in the United States is to be attributed in large part to Boas's indefatigable efforts.

White goes on to take the indefensible position that evidence does not count in the struggle against race prejudice, that appeal to proof is "futile because it is irrelevant."

I would challenge the assumptions that lead him to this erroneous belief, *i.e.*, that *all* prejudiced persons are psychopaths, that *no* prejudices are based on ignorance curable by knowledge.

White leaves out of consideration the vast number of persons who are prejudiced because they are misled by the false rationalizations of interest groups. Often even those who do the manipulating are not psychopaths but are rather very rational men who utilize what they know to be irrationalities as techniques of dominance. . . . The degree to which people are susceptible to such manipulation depends not only upon the extent of their personal security . . . and upon whether the facts or points of view serve their interests, but upon the degree to which they have been made immune to racialism by knowledge of its errors.

Even when persons want to believe in race superiority, and even when such belief may serve to bolster their pride and buttress their power, the educator can often succeed in utilizing the tremendous prestige of scientific authority to fortify them against racialism.

The race prejudices of most people do not remotely resemble the Napoleonic psychopathic delusions of grandeur to which White compares them. For a social scientist to place these people in that category, and to deny his ability to reach them through diffusion of scientific knowledge, is a pathetic confession of inadequacy and an abnegation of responsibility. Moreover, White leaves out of account entirely the fortification given to the morale of minority peoples by knowing that Boas's researches established the fact that science was on their side.

Research on the psychopathic roots of prejudice is still very tentative. . . . As it develops, it will undoubtedly give insights and tools to enable us to cope more effectively with the problem of racialism. But these are supplementary . . . [and] cannot take the place of the insistent responsibility of the scholar to meet ignorance with knowledge. . . . Knowledge and truth in the field of race could not be acquired without careful validation through scrupulously accurate investigations. It is to Boas's great credit that he was not deterred from these researches until he had established his findings irrefutably. . . .

Bernard J. Stern

Rejoinder

To the Editor

1. To my statement: "I know of no evidence . . . " [and so on], Dr. Stern replies with his own categorical assertion that "Boas and students following his lead convincingly reversed the judgment of most scholars." This simply means, it seems to me, that Dr. Stern and I assess the evidence differently, not that I—or Dr. Stern—am "abysmally ignorant." I'll stand by my original statement.

If Boas and his students did "reverse the judgment" of *some* scholars—and this I am willing to grant—I am convinced by personal observation that they have also aggravated racial antagonisms by their *attacks* upon race prejudice. One response to these attacks . . . has been the resurgence of a more vigorous prejudice. Attack leads to counterattack. Anti-Semitism evokes anti-Semitism . . . and so on in a vicious circle. I do not believe that racial antagonisms are less virulent today in the United States than they were when Boas began his crusade a half century ago, nor do I see any reason to believe that they would now be greater had it not been for Boas.

2. Dr. Stern says that I "take the indefensible position that evidence does not count in the struggle against prejudice." I certainly did not take this position . . . I said in the passage quoted by Stern himself that preaching that is irrelevant is futile.¹¹ *Of course* evidence may count. But it must be relevant.

¹¹ White's phrasing in question is: "But most, if not all, of this preaching is futile—futile because it is wholly irrelevant."

3. Dr. Stern misrepresents me again when he attributes to me the "erroneous belief that *all* prejudiced persons are psychopaths. . . ." I have, of course, never said or even implied any such thing. What I said was, again in the passage that Stern quotes: "Race prejudice is not engendered by an ignorance of anthropometry or neurology, and is not curable, therefore, by learned dissertations on these subjects." I still stand by this statement. . . .

There is, I submit, an analogy between a true believer of Aryanism or of white supremacy and the psychopath. In each case there is a fixity of belief that is impervious to fact and reason. But this is not to say, and I have never said, that *all* prejudice is psychopathic or that *no* prejudice is curable. . . . I was not, as my statement shows, concerned so much with likening the racist to the psychopath as I was with comparing Boas to a psychiatrist who would hope to cure the psychopath of his Napoleonic delusion by confronting him with proof that the famed Corsican had died long ago on St. Helena.

If race prejudice is engendered by social forces and processes, as I believe it is . . . then lectures on anthropometry and neuroanatomy, such as Boas used to indulge in, will do no good because they are directed only at the symptoms of the disease, not at its causes. Lectures on the socio-economic genesis of race prejudice might have done some good, but as Stern himself says, Boas began to concern himself with this aspect of the problem only in his later years. And, I would add, produced no imposing or significant results.

4. I would not challenge Stern's claim that Boas "fortified the morale of minority peoples," or at least many of the better-educated individuals in some minority groups, and *made them feel*—rather than "established the fact"—that "science was on their side." I feel sure that Boas did . . . [this]. Kroeber has said that Boas "was literally worshipped by some of those who came under his influence." That this is an attitude extraneous to the context of scientific labor and achievement is indicated by the comparative paucity of worshippers of such men as Newton and Willard Gibbs, who were incomparably greater figures in science than Boas. . . . In any event, "fortification of morale" is quite a different thing from (1) a diminution of race prejudice or (2) a scientific explanation thereof.

5. As for Boas's "scrupulously accurate investigations," his "significant contribution to human enlightenment in the field of race relations," one may judge them in the light of Boas's own words: "The prejudice is founded essentially on the tendency of the human mind to merge the individual in the class to which he belongs, and to ascribe to him all the characteristics of his class." *A tendency of the human mind* . . . this is

one of the "findings" that Boas "established irrefutably"! Not a very big mouse for a mountain to bring forth.

Leslie A. White

While both of these distinguished scholars are dead serious, we imagine that each got a chuckle out of this exchange. For all our years in education, we have had trouble teaching our majors that true scholars are not exactly "nice to people" in a hand-holding sense, not when real issues are involved. Science is critical, firm, explicit, and its history is a record of such debates as the one detailed. Every science is finally a court of action, ruling on the claims of its members, discarding old theories, moving forward in the wake of new viewpoints.

Do facts, concepts, principles, change learner behavior? Do they carry over into real life? Stern believes that Boas's teachings have made a big difference in the lives of many persons, that they have reduced race prejudices and discriminations. He felt that White denied this, an indication of the latter's ignorance and his negation of a teacher's responsibility to spread truth. White does not admit to guilt on either count, pointing to qualifications in his book review. Readers are, presumably, left to judge.

We can do nothing much toward settling this important issue. Research in intergroup education, while ever more precise, still gives no conclusive answer as to the impact of knowledge on conduct. Measured learnings differ between users of this teaching method or that. They vary also between users of the same method, and finally, between the subjects studied, the end-tests used, and so on. While our impression is, and many studies support it, that *the academic method is best in teaching the abstractions it is designed to handle*, evidence as to carry-over into life is very sparse. We cannot, therefore, be dogmatic about any method, for each seems to have limitations, to be good for what it is known to be good for. The need is for more and more experimental work, work focused on the effects of teachings on attitudes and actions.

ETHNIC IQ, IQ TESTING

To an extent, academic teaching is based on academic testing, on paper and pencil evidence of changes in intelligence and personality. Here is, we believe, a field where much improvement is

needed, where better testing and better schooling will clearly make for better intergroup relations.

Let us start with some ethnic IQ data as seen in Table 34.

What is a critical thinker to make of Table 34? In terms of *our* tests, *our* procedures, *our* assumptions, native white Americans are a superior lot. They are exceeded in intelligence, on the average, only by Jews. Negro Americans measure out just so-so, and the poor red man is lowest on the totem pole! So the table reads, if one is inclined to believe what IQ tests say. Well over a generation ago,

Table 34. Ethnic Differences in IQ*

Ethnic Group	Number of studies	IQ scores	
		Range	Median
Jews.....	7	95-106	103
Germans.....	6	93-105	100.5
English, Scotch.....	5	93-105	99
Japanese.....	9	81-114	99
Chinese.....	11	87-107	98
Negro, American.....	27	58-105	86
Italians.....	16	79- 96	85
Portuguese.....	6	83- 96	84
Mexican.....	9	78-101	83.5
Indians, American.....	11	65-100	80.5
American control groups.....	18	85-108	102.0

* From Otto Klineberg, *Characteristics of the American Negro*, p. 35, Harper, 1944.

Miller¹² warned against this. He put no stock in innate racial ability, in biological determinism of any kind. He stressed heavily cultural differences, the impact of environment, the opportunity to learn.

What is intelligence? "It is the ability," says Stoddard,¹³ "to undertake activities that are characterized by difficulty, complexity, abstractness, economy, adaptive to a goal, social values, emergence of originals," and to maintain such activities under conditions which demand a concentration of energy and a resistance to emotional forces. Intelligence is a particular kind of mental functioning. Abilities identified by Thurstone¹⁴ are verbal skills,

¹² Herbert A. Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes*, pp. 129 ff., Lippincott, 1924.

¹³ George D. Stoddard, *The Meaning of Intelligence*, p. 4, Macmillan, 1943.

¹⁴ L. L. Thurstone, "Primary Mental Abilities," *Psychometric Monographs*, No. 1, 1930; for his more recent thought see his work on factor analysis in *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 5: 147-155, 1945.

number skills, space visualization, inventiveness, perceptual speed, rote memory, inductive reasoning, and general mental efficiency.

Take, for example, one key item in all of this, the concept of social values. Every member of every society draws upon that society's storehouse of values, its organized knowledge. Some of these ways of knowing, of being, of wanting, of doing, are to be plainly seen, whereas others are concealed, the taken-for-granted path habits on which much of living rests. Because these values are the core of every culture, any such thing as a value-free test seems out of the question. Moreover, since cultures differ in ways we know and in ways we may not yet comprehend, the comparison of cultural strangers as to IQ seems hazardous in the extreme.

We recall here an experience of long ago, a project in testing some white Southern highland children. Knowing that word symbols would stump these subjects, that common expressions like "the opposite of" might not be understood, tests were selected or devised which were as nonverbal as possible. An example is the lost-ball problem. Instructions were: "Here is a field (showing a drawing), and children have been playing ball in it. They have lost their ball. Now, take this pencil. Study the field and then draw a line which will show just how you would walk in order to find the lost ball. Walk so that you will be sure to find the ball."

Assured that the children understood, that many had lost a ball at play, we were none the less puzzled at their answers. The correct answer was to circle the field, keep circling it, from rim to center or the reverse. Boys and girls tended to zigzag about, going here, stopping there, starting again. Why? After an interview or two, the reason became quite clear. When these subjects lost a ball, they knew where to find it—down this gully, under that rock, in that bush. Their test behaviors were very intelligent, though we had been going to flunk them! They had no concept of an open play-field, the central idea in the test. To have compared their scores with those of average American children would have been wrong indeed.

We have been discussing intergroup differences in IQ. An issue even nearer the schools, one that is now very controversial, has to do with intracultural differences, the class-typed learnings of schoolchildren.

About the time of World War II, psychologists debated vigorously the constancy of the IQ. Under Stoddard's leadership, and

with research to back them up, the so-called "Iowa school" challenged current ideas. "They published dozens of studies," says Sargent,¹⁵ "indicating that nursery school attendance, orphanage and foster-home living, and other broad types of experience could affect the IQ." The result was to show that environment was more significant than had been thought, that the IQ could be changed within measurable limits. This set the stage for the work of the "Chicago school," with their studies of class status and intelligence.

The most definitive work so far has been the study by Eells and others which we have just cited in a footnote. This was a study of about 5,000 white children, nine to fourteen years of age, in the schools of Rockford, Ill., a city of over 85,000. Eight standard intelligence tests were given, after which an index of social-class status was computed by use of a modified Warner ISC scale. High and low status populations were selected and then used to study the relation of class level to IQ distributions. Test items were analyzed for difficulty and significance.

Positive correlations, low to medium, were found between status level and IQ scores. Coefficients ranged from .20 to .43, each being statistically significant. The IQ's of high-status pupils averaged from 3 to 23 points higher than the IQ's of low-status pupils, though overlaps were common. When some 650 test items were analyzed, about half showed differences for high- and low-status groups of young children, and 85 per cent for older children, with all differences significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence. Variations were largest for verbal IQ tests and smallest for pictorial and other "noncultural" material.

In his very cautious comments on these findings, Eells suggests various possible explanations. In his opinion, "variations in opportunity for familiarity with specific cultural words, objects, or processes required for answering test items seem . . . the most adequate general explanation for most of the findings." While more research is needed, it would now appear that the IQ tests in most common use in schools do reflect, to a marked degree, the social-class backgrounds of pupils rather than their ability to learn. Tests are heavily weighted in favor of middle- to upper-class pupils and against the great mass of schoolchildren who are from lower-class levels.

¹⁵ S. S. Sargent, in a review of Eells *et al.*, *Intelligence and Cultural Differences*, University of Chicago Press, 1951, in *American Journal of Sociology*, 58: 209, 1952.

Can verbal IQ tests be devised which are equally fair to all children, regardless of their class-typed modes of life? A comparison of "old" and "new" tests will show the direction research is taking.

IQ Test, Standard

A symphony is to a composer as a book is to what?

() paper () sculptor () author
() musician () man

IQ Test, New Type

A baker goes with bread in the same way a carpenter goes with what?

() a saw () a house () a spoon
() a nail () a man

Obviously, the new-type item is better. It is more likely to tap common learnings, thus to test a pupil's ability to think, to reason out an answer. The aim in this kind of testing is to free tests as far as possible from symbol identification, word recognition, or recall. Put simply, the focus is on intelligence as problem solving, a way of mental functioning. Picture tests and life drawings may do this better than do words, and experimentation with them is general.

OTHER FORMS OF TESTING

Other forms of testing seem to us as vulnerable to criticism, or at least as much subject to misuse, as does standard IQ testing. For example, here are items from a widely used personality test, a "neurotic inventory."

1. Do you see more fun or humor in things when you are in a group than when you are alone? [Right answer, a sign of "normalcy," is no.]
2. Can you usually understand a problem better by studying it alone than by discussing it with others? [Right answer is yes.]
3. Do you usually face your troubles alone without seeking help? [Right answer is yes.]
4. Do you like to bear responsibilities alone? [Right answer is yes.]

Here, it appears to us, is a tester with a firm faith in individualism—in man alone, free, strong, ungrouped. On this test, subjects who prefer to work with others, who find satisfaction in being with them, who depend upon them for help, are judged abnormal, *i.e.*, weak, dependent, maladjusted, unable to cope with life. Could there be any greater distortion of human nature? For all his time, man has been a group man, a pack member. This has been his strength, not his weakness, a survival technique. It has been diminished more in present days than in any past period, yet why schools,

by use of this test, should accelerate the trend toward asocial, or unsocial, living is not easy to understand.

Attitude testing, on which so much of current social psychology is founded, is another case in point. A small but significant study will point the way toward a discussion of some of its hazards.

Some years ago, Professor LaPiere and two Chinese friends made a trip east from California.¹⁶ They traveled by auto and on the way stopped for meals and overnight at 184 restaurants, motels, and hotels. On returning home, a questionnaire was mailed to these places, asking if they would accept Chinese patrons. Well over 90 per cent of the replies were negative. A control group of places which had not been visited gave about the same per cent of negative answers.

Unless one has thought some, he may not realize how great a difference exists between attitudes (test responses) and life behaviors, what people do. Teachers get all the "right" answers from pupils in a discussion of, say, Brotherhood Week, but outside of school "wrong" behaviors go unchecked. Camp counselors observe that white and nonwhite children team up for activities, yet on returning home the same boys and girls pull apart. Adults who go to interracial conferences in the South may say polite farewells before boarding bus or train or plane for home, thus avoiding embarrassing situations. A school superintendent adopts a very liberal interracial policy for city schools yet continues to assign Negro teachers to Negro districts and not to upgrade them. A college professor lectures on democratic human relations but never misses a meeting of a homeowners' association of which he is a leading member.

What is one to make out of this? What reliance can be put on check-type test responses? Inconsistency is, perhaps, nothing to get too excited about. It is a commonplace, a reflection of our schizoid culture. To expect complete consistency in feeling, thought, and action is, we suspect, unreasonable. And yet this admission should not obscure the point at issue. If school and college students are not minded to do in life what they say on tests, of what good are the tests? To answer forthwith that test findings have several practical uses, for example, in planning classroom work, is again to dodge the main issue. The question is how to educate for better human relations *under life conditions*.

Consider some differences between academic testing and the tug of everyday living. A major aim of testers is to create conditions

¹⁶ Richard LaPiere, "Attitudes versus Actions," *Social Forces*, 13: 230-237, 1934.

where inhibitions are absent, where true "attitudes" can be expressed. This means that life is falsified, for life is seldom like that. On a good test, issues have been clarified; the bugs have been ironed out. In life, issues come buried in other issues, and their unscrambling is a problem. In life, phrasings are loaded, but in testing words mean what they say within the limits of common usage. In life, whatever has happened sets the context for decision, whereas on a test every effort is made to control successive stimuli, to prevent unwanted carry-over. In life, a person expects to be held accountable for what he says, but on a test he is anonymous.

Other test limitations could be listed, for instance, those that stem from statistical assumptions and procedures. To illustrate, in mass attitude testing, reliability is based on the fact that, for large numbers of cases, findings will be stable. This does not mean that the views of any one subject have been measured reliably. Conclusions apply to the mass, *i.e.*, averages, deviations, etc. In sampling, to make another point, the reactions of one subject have the same weight as the reactions of any other subject, though in life this is not likely to be the case. People are nowise alike and equal in their ability, for instance, to influence the opinions of others.¹⁷ In sum, science can operate only within a rather artificial, mechanical situation. It abstracts from reality, ignoring everything about people except the pinpoint under study.

We would not imply in anything that has been said that testing has been oversold, that it is by nature harmful, that it should be scrapped. The moral, if any, is that, as teachers, we should learn the nature of academic testing, its uses and limitations, in the educational task. We hope that testers will keep critical of their work, keep on developing better tests. The one thing we most want to see in academic intergroup testing is the kind of test which will incorporate within it the life situations in which people tend to act.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. What is academic education? Tell of your experiences, good and bad, in it. Do you like it some, very much, not at all? Why?
2. Of the 339,000 college students who took the United States draft deferment test in the spring of 1952, 63 per cent passed. Over half the Northerners passed, and less than 40 per cent of the Southerners. Why?

¹⁷ A point well made by Herbert Blumer in his critique of opinion polls. See his "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *American Sociological Review*, 13: 546 ff., 1948.

Top passers were engineers and physical science and math students. Lowest passers of all were education students, with only 27 per cent getting by. How do you explain this?

3. What would you have done about the picturesque textbook? That is, starting where the case left off, would you have developed a unit on race? If so, work out your plan in detail.

4. How much do you know about the "ignorant"? For example, of 18 million men examined for military service in World War II, one in twelve turned out to be illiterate or nearly so. Read Eli Ginzberg and D. W. Bray, *The Uneducated*, Columbia University Press, 1953, looking especially into conditions of the Negro in the Southeast along with Spanish-Americans and Indians.

5. What do you think of our teach-as-you-please plan, Fig. 11? As a class project, build an academic study unity on race, creed, or national origins for some grade or high school level. Books by Dr. Hilda Taba and staff, all published by the American Council on Education, will be helpful:

<i>With Focus on Human Relations</i>	<i>Literature for Human Understanding</i>
<i>Reading Ladders for Human Relations</i>	<i>Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Relations</i>
<i>Curriculum in Intergroup Relations</i>	<i>Intergroup Relations in Public Schools</i>
<i>Sociometry in Group Relations</i>	

6. If you are not Jewish, have you ever visited a Jewish weekday or Sunday school? A student team might do this and report to the class. Is teaching academic?

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CHAPTER 11

Group-process Education

In the beginning was the word.

—JOHN

In the beginning was the deed.

—GOETHE

The word and the deed are one.

—AESCHYLUS

In *Sugar on the Slate*,¹ a small high school is undergoing renovation, a change-over from academic education to an "activity program." Sadie, an old-time math teacher, is confused. She can't figure out how to teach math by playing games, for example, "movable chairs." "Why," explained a bright young thing, fresh out of college, "that's easy." As she told it, "some pupils are plus, some minus, and then there is *X*. Pupils move about, act out the problem. They want to find the value of *X*." Sadie, far from clear, asks what happens when *X* and *A* or *L* or *Z*, get on the same chair. "Is the chair sawed in two"? The young thing laughed. "Oh, no," she replied, "not in modern education. *X* sits on *A*'s lap, and do they love it!" Sadie could savvy that, all right. But did they learn anything? When told they "learned a lot," her query was, "a lot of what?"

How funny can we get in schooling, how much sugar on the slate? Was it Maugham who said that God must love us yet we should not push Him too far? We are expected, evidently, to save ourselves from our folly. Group-process teaching, group dynamics, an activity program, have no doubt been a good thing in public education, have saved children from unbearable boredom. But if this kind of teaching and learning is to be more than a rambunctious romp, little games for little (or big) people, then it will have

¹ A novel by Don Fontaine, Farrar, Strauss, and Young, 1951.

to move along the lines of sociological knowledge. It will have to combine persons into team-type programs, join together the word and the deed in teacher-guided, teacher-assessed, action. Let us inquire into this, beginning as usual with some concrete cases.

SCHOOL CASES, SOME EXAMPLES

We shall draw again on school and college cases. Examples are meant to be illustrations, to lead to class discussion. In the case below, the writer is a play therapist. Her work is with six- to eight-year-olds, divided into groups of fours. These children are problems, the chief issue being their social adjustments. June, the child of most concern to us, is a Negro, seven years of age. The teacher who referred her said that she was "aggressive, quarrelsome, not liked." She is the only Negro pupil in the two play groups. She is not at ease in her race role.

June, Play Therapy²

June, on entering the room, said she had gotten sand in her hair the last time she came to group meeting. Her mother said she was not to do so again. At this, Beverly jeered at June. "So what? You know the rules. We can throw sand in this half of the room. And if you come over that line, you'll get sand in your hair. If you don't like it, you should stay over there, on that side."

Presently, June crossed the line. "Don't throw sand on me," she squealed, but Jackie and Pete both began to throw sand at her. Nothing came of this, and the children settled down. The boys played in the sand, and the girls went over to an easel and started to paint.

Pete said he didn't see why they couldn't do anything they wanted to, even to killing off one another and wrecking the room. He was growling, of course, about some limitations that had been put upon him the day before when he had struck a group member. Suddenly the two boys, after some whispering, jumped out of the sandbox, ran over to a collapsible dollhouse, and began to wreck it. This was an acceptable form of destructiveness, the house having been built for that purpose, so that the therapist offered no interference.

The two girls watched as the boys tore down the house. Beverly dipped her brush into red paint. "Blood, blood, blood!" she yelled, as she smeared the paint across the picture. And then, "Come on, June. Let's

² Adapted from Virginia M. Axline, "Play Therapy and Race Conflict in Young Children," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 43: 300-310, 1948.

let them throw sand at us." June yelled her assent, and they leaped across the "safety line." At once the boys threw sand on them, and June reverted to her usual protest. Beverly again pointed out that June should not have crossed the line, and June shrugged. "People are so funny," Jackie said to the therapist. "June *wants* us to throw sand at her but she yells when we do." People don't always behave the way they feel," replied the therapist. "You act and say one thing and sometimes you mean another." "Yes," Jackie said. "I never tell how I really feel. I *pretend*—pretend all the time."

June, who had heard what Jackie said, lay down on the floor and rolled. Pete dumped sand on her. She laughed and threw sand back at him. Then June got into the big sandbox. The boys protested, declaring that the sandbox was their territory, that the girls—for Beverly had joined June—were invaders. When the boys advanced, the girls retreated. They went to the puppets and began to put on a show. All boy puppets were beaten by the girls and called "morons." Beverly then said that she *really* loved boys, that she wished she was a boy. Jackie said he wished he was a girl, and Pete said he wished he was a king and everybody had to obey him. June was silent. On Beverly's loud insistence that June say how she felt, the girl flared up. "I will not tell you. And you *white folks* went ahead and got sand in my hair. And I told you not to."

When Beverly argued that it was June's fault, that she had crossed the line, June stepped over the line again. "I'll come across the line again and again and again. And I'll tell my mother on you whites." All three children sanded June until she got back in the safety zone. When another handful was thrown at her for good measure, the therapist called attention to the rules. "This is the safety zone. No sand over here."

June sulked. She went to the easel and stirred the paints. Suddenly, she turned to the other children, now playing in the sandbox. "Look at you three! You awful three! You white trash!"

Beverly sprang up. "Don't you call me that, you—you—," and she looked furtively at the therapist. "You want to call her a name because she called you one, don't you?" said the therapist. "Yes," was the reply. Jackie spoke up. "Be kind to her, Beverly. Her *feelings* must be hurt." The boy dug in the sand. "You really wanted to call her a nigger didn't you?" Beverly hung her head, and June looked at all three of her "white folks" with hot eyes.

"Do you want to come in here and play with us?" Jackie said to June. "No," June replied. "Come on," the boy said, "you can have my place." June gingerly edged over and took Jackie's place.

Jackie, who had begun to paint, painted a piece of paper solid black, and then put a thick blob of red in the middle. He came to the therapist and whispered, "Guess what it is?" "I don't know," she said, "do you

want to tell me?" The boy grinned slyly. "It's got something to do with June," he whispered, "and it *looks* like she got hurt."

After a little, Jackie went over and sat on the sandbox where the girls were playing. "Do you like us better now?" he asked June. She smiled at him, saying, "Uh-huh!" Jackie returned to his easel, tore down his painting, and threw it away. "What color do you like best?" he said to June. "Pink," she said. Jackie mixed some pink paint, painted a picture, and gave it to June.

This was the last session of this group of four, with June now joining a new group of Rollin, Louise, and Perry. "Look at him. He's on the toilet," Rollin exclaimed about a doll. "Shame! Shame!" June cried, "Why?" the boy asked. "I don't know," June replied. The subject held no further interest and the children began to play house. They set a table. "We're eating breakfast," June announced. Shortly, she bumped the table, knocking it over. "These children are bad girls!" Rollin shouts. "They are *not* bad," June shouts in return. "You dope!" Rollin yells. "You're a dope yourself," is June's reply, at which the boy calls her a "redhead." Each child screams at the other. Rollin moves over to the dollhouse and wrecks it. June grabs up the baby doll and swings it by a leg, as if to dash its brains out.

Shortly the children began to paint. As Rollin pins up a paper, he sticks his finger. "Look," he said, "I'll need first aid." As he washes his finger, he spills some water on the floor. "Oh, I *am* sorry," he says. "Why did you say you were sorry?" June asks. "I dare say," she continued, "you don't need to say you are sorry in here." "That's why I'll say it in here," Rollin replied. "I get so tired of saying what I'm *supposed* to say."

Perry holds up the brown paint water. "Nice whiskey," he observes. June sets up a small table, calling it a "cocktail table." As she reaches past Rollin, she jars his arm so that he spills the tray of "drinks" he is carrying. "Oh, for Christ's sake," he shouts, "you god-damn nigger. You spilled the tray. You make me so mad I could spit on you." June draws back and her face clouds over. "I am *not* a nigger!" she shouts. "What are you, then?" Rollin demands. June looked about unhappily, thinking up a reply. "I . . . I am a *person*!" she said.

There is complete silence in the play room. Each child is quiet, watchful, waiting. "I'm sorry, June," Rollin said. "That's all right," June replied, and the children resume their activities.

June picks up a white doll. She holds it side by side with a Negro doll, looking at them a long time. She puts the white doll in a doll bed, carefully tucking it in. She glares at the Negro doll, then grabs a hammer and pounds it. "Get rid of the old nigger!" she shouts. "Dirty old nigger. Black, hateful old nigger." Rollin jumps up quickly and comes to her. "June!" he says. "June! She is a *person*!" "Oh, I'm sorry," says June,

in a tone of distress. She picks up the Negro doll. "Could I . . .," and she looks at Rollin, "put her in the same bed with the—the *pretty* doll?" The children then debate whether people should ever sleep together. Rollin asks if the Negro girl wants to sleep with the white girl. June will not commit herself. The boy takes the first doll and puts it in bed alone. He then takes it up, throws the bed across the room, and places the Negro doll in bed with the white doll. June is now all smiles.

At the next meeting of this group, June sat down at a table across from Perry. She reached over and took a piece of his clay. The boy sprang to his feet, screaming "Give me back my clay!" "I want it!" June said, hugging it tightly. "Give it! Give it!" yelled Perry, snatching at it. The therapist reflected the children's attitudes—June's desire to keep the clay, Perry's anger at the act. "He's sure mad," June said gleefully. "Look at his face. He gets so red when he gets mad," she giggled. "I *like* to make his face change color!" Perry glared at her. "I'd like to make *your* face change color. I'd like to make it *white* so you wouldn't be so mean." Here, again, the therapist tried to mediate by interpreting one child to the other. She noted that each child would like to change the color of the other's face, to which neither child replied.

June hurled the clay to the floor. "Don't you call me names!" she yelled at Perry. "June doesn't like to have someone call her names," said the therapist. Perry looked angrily at the therapist. "She is a mean, nasty ———." "I am *not*! I am *not*!" screamed June. Perry watched June cry. "Look," he said in a very calm voice, "you jerked away my clay. Why did you do that to me?" "I don't know," June said meekly. She hung her head and wiped her eyes. Louise came up. "Do you want to play with us?" she asked June, and June nodded.

Louise laid her hand on June's hair. "My, your hair feels funny," she remarked. June put her hand to her hair. She looked at Louise suspiciously, then reached out and touched Louise's hair. "*Your* hair feels funny," June said belligerently. But Louise was not making fun of June. She touched her hair gently with both hands. "*Your* hair is *different*," Louise said. "No," June screamed, burying her hands not so gently in her playmate's hair. "No! It's your hair that's different." "You've *both* got different kinds of hair," said the therapist. By now, the boys had approached. Rollin touched June's hair. "I think you've got *nice* hair, June," he said. Perry stuck his hand on June's hair, then on Louise's, then his own, then Rollin's. "Your hair is sort of like June's," he said to Rollin. "Is it?" June asked, and she felt Rollin's hair.

"Each of you has hair that is a little different from any other," the therapist said. June laughed. Louise and Perry laughed. "But it all grows on *our* heads," said Perry. All the children agreed with this wisdom and returned to their play.

The problem was to teach these youngsters how to get along, to show them that groupness means a give and take. June, in particular, had a tough time. In incident after incident, many not cited in our excerpt, she is made to feel that she is different, that she does not belong. She does not sense that, in part, she is responsible for these attacks, bringing them on. She does this mainly by violating group rules, as in the sand throwing. June's behaviors change when she does not feel her "differences," when she is included in the group.

The next example tends to divide a college class pro and con. Some students say that such teaching is justifiable as a last resort, others feel that it is too risky to undertake. The case writer is the present author.

Blackie, a Sociodrama³

Invited to help solve some school discipline problems, we asked the teacher to be specific. She named a run of things, mostly violations of room order. One third-grader, Blackie, was pointed out as ringleader. He tripped children as they passed his seat, kicked them, kept the room in turmoil.

On being introduced to this class, the speaker said he was indeed interested in young people, telling the group a story or two. After some laughs, the visitor went on talking. He explained that his interest was in how people treated people, how we learn to live together in groups. Sometimes we all treat people very good, sometimes rather bad. Were there any bad ways in which some schoolchildren treated one another? Several pupils spoke, until someone mentioned "kicking." Here the visitor appeared puzzled, saying that he did not know what this meant. Pupil answers did not seem to help him much, and he pulled two chairs together in front of the class.

"Now," he said, "I would like to see this kicking. Who will show me how it goes?" Several children spoke in chorus, urging Blackie to volunteer. At the visitor's invitation, this boy slouched up front and was asked to take a seat on either of the chairs. "But we need another person, don't we," and the class, now excited, shrieked "Yes!" When no child offered to come up, the visitor selected one, a sturdy little girl, and walked with her to the other chair.

By this time, the class was in a hubbub, this making the occasion—as we had hoped—an educable one. Grinning all the while, the visitor spread out his hands for quiet. To fix attention still further, he began to view the chairs from various angles, moving them a bit this way or that.

³ From Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, pp. 110-111, American Council on Education, 1951.

When the silence was complete, every child focused, he turned suddenly to the little girl. "Now kick him, *now!* Go on, *kick!*" Moved by the suggestion, the girl let loose a gentle little tap. The boy, surprised by this reversal of role, for he had expected to do the kicking, muttered a lethargic "Ouch!" Neither child made any further move, except to eye the visitor, who had lost interest in the whole affair.

Walking away from Blackie and Mary, pulling their classmate's eyes from them, the adult in this drama gave every sign of disappointment. Why, kicking was nothing. It was nothing at all. Why should anyone ever worry about it? Again, the class became active, with many pupils assuring the speaker that he was wrong, that kicking was bad! After drifting back toward the two chairs, the visitor turned suddenly to Mary, asking her to show again how kicking went. This time she registered a real kick, and Blackie let out a yell. The class was completely silent and the visitor, apparently, was surprised and disturbed.

This was, in our theory, to be the teachable moment, the proper use of cause and effect. Very solemn now, we said we saw why kicking was bad. "It hurts, doesn't it?" we asked Blackie, and his reply left no doubt. Kicking hurt and it was bad, and the boy felt that it should be stopped. He was standing now with the adult's arm about his shoulder, looking sheepish in his martyr role. But still, kicking was bad, and it should be stopped.

The work now was to involve the whole class in an action plan and, in so doing, to restore Blackie to his leader role *but on the side of antikicking*. What was done was to talk through the issue with the group, with Blackie listing the suggestions and at times commenting on them. Since this was to be everybody's plan, the teacher was pulled in, though responsibility for decision making was left with the group.

The group plan was very simple, merely that no one would kick or trip, that anyone who forgot and did so would have to explain his action to the group. Unable to maintain contact with this teacher, we never learned how this plan worked out.

We do not intend to recommend kicking to teachers but to speak in passing of some research on which this type of teaching is based. During World War II, Kurt Lewin assisted the government in increasing the use of certain cheap and nutritive meats.⁴ Three groups of Iowa housewives were given lectures and demonstrations along these lines, and in another three groups the techniques were informal discussion, followed by group decision. In a checkup some months after, 3 per cent of the women in the lecture groups had

⁴ Cited in T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, pp. 330-344, Holt, 1947.

served one or more of these meats, in comparison with a third of the women in the discussion groups. Lewin stresses the matter of *group decision*, a public affirmation of intent. This was the technique used with Blackie, a commitment before his peers to stop kicking and tripping.

Group-process teaching is used often in school trouble cases. A high school cafeteria clean-up case will illustrate.

*Cleaning up a School Cafeteria*⁵

The scene is noon in a school cafeteria. The place is packed with junior high students, grabbing a bite to eat. The room is close, smelly, and noisy, and touch and go contacts show bad manners to say the least. One boy, an undersized Negro lad, lingers from table to table on his way to find a seat. His tray of food sways this way and that as he moves, bringing yells of "Drop it, fella!" and "Throw it, Bill!" A Negro teacher, who is supervising the lunch period, took the boy by the arm, hurrying him along. Presently, he pushed him into a vacant seat.

As the teacher turned to go, Bill stood up, threw his tray of food into the air, then jumped on the teacher's back. The latter recovered quickly, shook the boy off, fell on him, and a crowd gathered. When order was restored, the principal was called, and he took the boy to his office. Here the pupil was reprimanded and then questioned. Repeatedly questioned on his conduct, all that Bill would say was that "Ol' X" had called him a "little white monkey," that he would not take this "frum nobody." The boy himself was of brown complexion, much darker than many Negro youngsters in this mixed big-city school.

When the lunchroom supervisor came in, he admitted hurrying the boy along and calling him a "little white monkey," a phrasing other students had used as a taunt to Bill. Again the principal tried to find out why this title was so insulting to the boy, and again he failed. At this juncture, the boy's social studies teacher came in, having some business at the office. After waiting a bit, listening to what was said, this teacher left. On the way to his classroom, he heard several versions of what had happened in the cafeteria. Whatever his thought may have been on the case, he made up his mind to do something about the lunchroom. It was, in his judgment, a school disgrace.

When his "problems of democracy" class met, the instructor talked about the school cafeteria. Bill was a member of this class, though no mention was made of the noontime incident. Was the cafeteria a good place? Good food? Good atmosphere? A good gathering place? Ideas, mostly critical, came from students thick and fast. The lunch half hour

⁵ From Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-114.

was bedlam, or nearly so, disliked by everyone who spoke. What, then, could school citizens do? The rest of that meeting and all of the next centered on a *clean-up campaign*.

In general outline, the plan was much the same as this group had made before, *i.e.*, in connection with other projects. First, the cafeteria would be visited and a study made. After this was done, a group chairman was elected and committees set up. One committee was on foods, another on rowdyism, a third on posters, and a fourth on entertainment. Two weeks later, after the campaign had seemed to bog down, two other committees were added. One was on publicity, the other on leadership. Both of these subgroups sought to involve the whole school in the work. It had long since become evident that one class period per day did not give these committees enough time. Meetings were held at off hours, plus an evening or two on week ends.

It would take time to sketch the details of committee work. The food group, for example, took pride in its "scientific plan." Members checked samples of trays as they passed the cashier's desk. Their findings showed the dominance of hotdogs, cokes, and deserts; the dearth of solid foods; the absence of fruits and vegetables. Such data were discussed at a general meeting, after which they were turned over to the posters committee. These students devised slogans, made signs, and invented comic characters to show good food choices and bad and good manners in eating. Each item played on some health or prestige theme, for instance the "big muscle man."

The leader committee became as much a morale builder as anything else. After the group's initial enthusiasm had died down, after the job became work and apparent gains were small, the whole project was re-studied in a 3-hour meeting at the teacher's home. Why the loss of pep? What had been done by each subgroup and why? Should other students be involved, in fact, every leader in the school? And how could this be done?

While head count and effect statistics are not lacking on this project, they do not tell very much about what happened to these youth. Our guess is, first, that citizenship was taught in perhaps the only way it can be taught, by being made concrete, hooked up with things to do. Second, this project was a good race mixer, the best the school has had. Third, students learned about school, what it is like as a system of groups. Fourth, they got an idea of their own strength as an action group, a learning that must be made time and again if it is to carry over into outside life, into area citizenship.

One point of stress in this case is our tendency as teachers to treat words as basic rather than as symptomatic, diagnostic. Who called a name, who told a lie, who used profanity? Who cheated,

stole, disobeyed? Such conduct cannot be ignored, not if order is to be kept, yet the significant query is not who but why, *why was this done?* What made it appear proper to the actor, even necessary? In the cafeteria case, "Ol' X" had triggered the boy's emotional outburst. But the phrase applied to Bill had long since been worn thin by his classmates. It "caused" his behavior only in the sense of releasing tensions long suppressed.

Of more importance is the teacher's concept of group work. Judging by the minor miracles to be read in educational journals, judging even by the best classroom movies,⁶ the process has been oversimplified. Once a group begins to work, it would appear that some magic force has been released. All that teachers seem to do is walk about, visiting with students. They drop a word now, a word then, and everything starts to hum. Group work is seldom like this. It is sweat labor, the same as any other kind of teaching. A teacher must stand as usual on his record, win or lose or draw.

We are quite willing, for our part, to admit more failures than successes. At times, as every teacher has said, one should not have failed. The case below is written by a Hazelton teacher.

Milk-cap Case

Hazelton is a small Pennsylvania mining town. It has a great mixture of nationalities, with Polish predominating. It has the usual institutions—stores, churches, schools, etc. The incident I want to relate involved the high school.

In the summer, most of us go to summer school and we return with new ideas to try out. One teacher came back last summer with more than 50 uses to which common milk-bottle caps could be put. We decided at our second faculty meeting to ask the children to bring to school all the milk caps they could collect in their homes. When only a few caps were brought in, we decided to promote a contest. Prizes were to be given to the best classes [classes bringing in the most caps], so that all our groups began to compete.

With classes arrayed against one another, with students and teachers talking up the contest, milk-cap collection spread like wildfire. Groups made signs and slogans, such as "On Your Way, Chum! Beg, Borrow, or Steal Milk Caps!" During the two weeks of the campaign, the cumulative scores of the ten leading classes were posted daily on the main bulletin board. This group had 52, that one 106, another 126, and so on.

⁶ For example, the McGraw-Hill film *Learning to Understand Children*. This is a good movie to use to teach concrete what-do-you-do details.

As teachers, we did not know what really was taking place, why scores shot up so fast. All that I will now report came out later on, after the school board had made an investigation of the sorry milk-cap contest.

At first, the scrap had been fair. Children brought the caps from home and only a parent or two complained. By the middle of the first week, a black market in caps had been set up. Starting at the rate of 1 cent per cap, caps were soon selling for a nickel each. About this time some of the youngsters had begun to follow the town's three dairy delivery trucks, stealing the caps off milk bottles as the milk was delivered at homes. Worse still, a bunch of Polish kids began to steal from stores that sold milk. These were stores where customers served themselves. In passing the milk case, a boy would pull off several caps under the pretext of buying a bottle of milk.

The merchants were greatly puzzled by this. One of them complained to the town marshal, who must have figured that it was a kid trick. At any rate, the marshal came to the school, where he saw the bulletin board. He talked to the principal whose face, no doubt, was pretty red! The principal passed a note to each of us and said the contest was off, that no prizes would be given for milk caps. When we made the announcement to our classes, the news was greeted with loud catcalls, whistles, and boos. What these kids did was to organize a one-day "strike," meaning only that some of them cut classes the next day.

This unfortunate business would have stopped here, but the merchants were not satisfied. They demanded that an investigation be made, so that the school board held a public hearing. Each of us had to testify. For a time, it looked as if the principal and one teacher would be fired, but the board split in its vote, with one member not voting. It was serious then, but now we can laugh at our foolishness in the milk-cap case.

Cases like this are hard to believe. No one wants to think that adults would act this way. Obviously, group processes can get out of hand, become unmanageable. There is power in groups, more than many teachers might guess.

A COLLEGE CASE, THE CAMPUS

Group-process teaching at the college level is very common in classroom work. It is found, too, in campus activities, the area selected for illustration. The case chosen comes from the University of Minnesota. It is reported by two college officials, both active in the events described.

*Fraternity Discrimination, the Making of University Policy*⁷

At a large student meeting, we were invited to state the university's policy toward fraternity exclusion clauses. We said that the university had no official policy. Students should feel free to discuss the issue, to formulate their ideas, keeping the university's interests in mind. They should present their conclusions to university authorities for review and evaluation.

This was in October, 1947. At once, we were visited by partisan advocates. They urged that we take immediate action to end frat discriminations, notably against nonwhite students. Again we said that the university is dedicated, not to enforcing conformity, but to teaching students how to think through conflict issues to their just resolution. We believed that the frat problem should be handled by the entire university community.

As these views become known, there followed a period of feverish activity. This took place on the campus, among students, and on the outside, among townspeople and citizen groups. Minneapolis at that time had a big self-survey in process and the university was invited to take part. A committee appointed by the president reviewed administrative policies and practices, athletic participation, and the like. The university then formulated its own corporate policy of *no discrimination* on the basis of race, creed, or national origins, in short, no discrimination against any qualified student. But with respect to student activities, the university did not judge it effective, educationally speaking, to enforce its general policy until students had first studied issues and devised plans of their own.

Here a review of our situation is in order. In 1931, when the Interfraternity Council (I-FC) was organized, Negro and Jewish frats were not admitted. In 1938, after a year's debate, these groups were invited to take part in campus I-FC functions. In 1944, after polling I-FC member groups, Negro and Jewish frats were extended an invitation to full membership. In that year, our Panhellenic Association petitioned the national body for the acceptance of Jewish sororities, but nothing came of this.

In 1947, the Minneapolis community survey was undertaken. It was a study of minority treatment in public institutions, residential areas, employment, and so forth. The university participated, as we have said, and both the I-FC and the PA established committees on human rela-

⁷ Based on E. G. Williamson and B. J. Borreson, "Learning to Resolve Social Conflict," *Educational Record*, 31: 26-38, 1950.

tions. Thus, the October, 1947, meeting climaxed a steadily growing interest in intergroup relations. It was precipitated by two events. One was a series of editorials in the student *Daily*, opposing racial or other discrimination. The other was petitions by two new frats for Senate Committee recognition, the Senate being the student governing body of the university. Though both frats had restrictive clauses, these petitions were granted.

The second event above led to a survey of fraternity constitutions, a report released to the city press. In 1948, a poll of fraternity members showed that 42 per cent of the voters opposed any change in restrictive clauses, with 52 per cent favoring change. In that year, the student Senate was asked to approve two new frats, one restricted as to race and creed. The latter petition passed in the Senate Committee by a bare majority vote, and the Committee made a public request that no more restrictive-clause cases be presented to it for action.

In January, 1949, a second all-frat poll was conducted. This showed that 75 per cent of frat members and 85 per cent of sorority members favored the removal of restrictive clauses. Results were given campus publicity, and they spread rather well over the city, the state, and the nation.

In this same year, 1949, the All-University Council adopted a resolution for presentation to the Senate Committee. To quote in part:

"WHEREAS, the restrictive clauses on the basis of race, color, creed, or religion in constitutions, local and/or national, of student groups are prejudicial to the interests of the student body at the University of Minnesota, be it

"RESOLVED, that . . . the following policy . . . should be adopted:

- "1. Student groups which establish (or continue established) programs for the education necessary to remove these restrictive clauses be allowed to exist on the campus as long as the Senate Committee feels that progress is being made, and further
- "2. No new groups which have such clauses be granted charters on this campus unless they establish such educational programs, and further
- "3. That all groups with such clauses be allowed to hold their present charters until January 1, 1951. If, by that time, no substantial progress has been made in removing these clauses, their charters shall be revoked."

This resolution led to others, in fact, the Senate Committee was swamped by them. Some were pro, some con; some stringent, some less so. During these two school years, 1949 to 1951, 15 Senate meetings were

devoted exclusively to a discussion of the "fraternity problem." In addition, two public all-campus meetings were held at which a large number of students had their say. Consultations by pro and con groups with university administrators and with the faculty were continuous over this time. While tempers flared now and then, mostly the orderly processes of study, debate, and decision prevailed.

In mid-April, 1952, and after many revisions, a final declaration of Senate Committee policy was made. The formulation comprised nine points which are too long for brief, exact statement. In general, the policy ruled against any kind of ethnic or creedal discrimination. It placed upon every student organization the duty of bringing its practices into line with official university policy. No new group, if it discriminated in any way, would be recognized. All campus groups were requested to review periodically their progress toward eliminating membership restrictions.

In early May, and again after much debate, this policy had been adopted by the student Senate, the faculty Senate, the All-University Council, and the Panhellenic Council.

Students now have guiding principles to aid in the conduct of student affairs. Experiences will show whether present policy is sound or whether it needs further revision. We are convinced that many students have had a genuinely educative experience in conflict resolution, in solving a problem that was far more difficult than this account may indicate. Most students now see this issue as a basic issue in human relations rather than as the forceful removal by university administration of certain clauses in fraternity constitutions.

This case is an example, and a good one, of democratic problem solving. Unless one has worked on the school and college frat issue, he may not understand the barriers in the way of free discussion, the risks incurred in channeling group action toward a just and integrative human-rights view. To quote again from the Minnesota experience:

While a just solution of the discriminatory problem was at stake . . . there was something even more important at issue. This greater value was the protection of the opportunity for students to learn valid methods of studying conflicts and advocating solutions. . . . What was at stake was the very heart of American higher education as it operated in the field of social conflict, namely, the method of applying educated intelligence to the solution of emotionally involved conflicts. . . . Such a point of view is what [a university] should teach its students, and this was the value we wished them to see as *the* basic issue.

GROUP-PROCESS TEACHING, GENERAL

Group-process education, whatever the name given it, did not begin with Lewin or Moreno or the SPSSI⁸ group, though each has made contributions. As an informal method, it is as old as organized group life. As a planful teaching technique, its theory content has come from several sources. It has come from the "dynamics" of Ward and Tonnies, Ross and Cooley. It has come from the experimentalists and sociometrists, suggested in our first sentence above. It has come from practitioners in social work and in education, including adult education. We have ourselves been making this approach to change problems for two decades,⁹ and others were at work when we began.

Group-process teaching is not child-centered as that term is often used, nor is it lacking in what teachers call "discipline." It is not textbook-oriented, as in academic learning, though it makes use of printed material. It is life-related yet is not the same as community education. Group-process teaching is, in its simplest definition, *the use of the group to educate its members*. Groups do not, in theory, change themselves, not in the ways teachers wish. The educator's job is to help in this process, to build groupness, to guide "we"-ness toward agreed-upon goals. Allport has put this better than we can.

One of the boldest advances in modern social science is the deliberate formation of groups for the expressed purpose of recentring member attitudes and habits. Assuming that such a group of willing subjects can be found, it starts its work with one great psychological advantage. Whether the subject knows in advance or not, *his total personality will soon be involved*. Unlike the citizen who reads a pamphlet or listens to a sermon, the individual who submits himself to a [group] retraining program is in it up to his eyes.

He is involved through discussion, role playing, and the exposure of weaknesses. He is brought up short by the "feed-back technique" whereby his failure to make progress is revealed to him. Time and again his complacency is shocked, and the shock is continued until he alters his ways. While this painful process goes on, the subject finds that he is growing more and more identified with the research itself, more and

⁸ Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues; publishes the *Journal of Social Issues*, a quarterly.

⁹ A fairly recent example is Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th Grade Class," *American Sociological Review*, 10: 250-261, 1945.

more anxious for beneficial changes to occur. And when changes do occur, they are likely to be deep and effective, for they have taken place, not in segmented regions of the mind, but in the whole person.¹⁰

What principles underlie the use of the group to reeducate its members? It may be many years before we have a conclusive answer. The group-dynamics staff at the University of Michigan is pushing fast in this. Cartwright, director of this work, has brought together staff and other thought on the question just asked. He cites data from industry, the armed forces, social work, education, and community action in support of his eight principles.

*Uses of the Group as a Medium of Change
and as the Target of Change*¹¹

1. If the group is to be used effectively as a medium of change, those persons who are to be changed, and those who are to exert influence for change, must have a strong sense of belonging to the same group.
2. The more attractive the group is to its members, the greater is the influence the group can exert over its members.
3. In attempts to change attitudes, values, or behaviors, the more relevant these elements are to the basis of attraction in the group, the greater will be the influence that the group can exert upon them.
4. The greater the prestige of a group member in the eyes of other group members, the greater the influence he can exert.
5. Efforts to change individuals in a group, or subparts of a group, which, if successful, would have the result of making them deviate from the norms of the group, will encounter strong resistance.
6. Strong pressure for changes in the group can be established by creating a shared perception by members of the need for change, thus making the source of pressure for change lie within the group.
7. Information relating to the need for change, plans of change, and consequences of change, must be shared by all relevant people in the group.
8. Changes in one part of the group produce strains in other related parts which can be reduced only by eliminating the change or by bringing about readjustments in related parts.

Cartwright points out that these principles are very broad; hence they are widely applicable. He notes that they scarcely transcend commonsense, yet that it has taken a tremendous amount of re-

¹⁰ Gordon W. Allport, in Cook (ed.), *Toward Better Human Relations*, pp. 54-55, Wayne University Press, 1952.

¹¹ Dorwin Cartwright, in Cook, *ibid.*, Chap. 3.

search to establish them. He does not believe that they are fixed and final, but rather that, as studies accumulate, they will require revision and extension. They can be used, or so our experience tends to show, to guide a great deal of school and college group-process teaching.

THE TEACHER-LEADER ROLE

We have spoken now and then of teachers as group leaders, much as Cartwright thinks about his group experimenter. While more will be said on this toward the volume's end, it is a good topic to carry along as we move.

Cantor¹² has done much to clarify his ideas of the teacher-leader role. In his first book below, his view of learning, and hence of teaching, comes from a belief that the principles of education are the principles of mental hygiene. He adds, however, that the teacher is not a therapist, not responsible for the "whole person." The teacher's task is to develop the meaning of a particular field, a course of study, a point of view. He can offer students a certain kind of help, that which he as a knowledgeable person is qualified to give.

It is in Cantor's second book that one can understand better the author's conception of teacher role. The teacher-leader is an "outsider," a consultant to a learning group. He is a kind of wise parent, restraining himself, influencing group members for their own good.

At meetings, a teacher (wise parent) determines the issues for study and keeps talk on the track. He reflects at times member feelings, as in our play-therapy case. His main concern, in meetings and outside, is to get learners to accept responsibility for their own self-direction, as well as for group welfare. He would not share basic policy making with them, feeling that they are immature.

Dollard and Miller¹³ advance a somewhat different pattern of ideas. They define a good teacher in terms of what he knows and what he does. His skills must match his knowledge, his values govern his actions. His every act should be seen as a model on which learners may elect to pattern. He must, above all, keep

¹² Nathaniel Cantor, *The Dynamics of Learning*, Foster and Stewart, Buffalo, N.Y., 1946, and *Learning through Discussion*, Human Relations for Industry, New York City, 1951.

¹³ John Dollard and Neal Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy*, McGraw-Hill, 1950.

students at the student job, that of learning. He must be a good listener to student talk, talking less than most teachers do. He should give students time to phrase their thought, refrain from saying anything they can say.

While this is no proper introduction to the Dollard-Miller thought, we have tried an experiment with their very readable book. We have asked classes of undergraduates to sweat over their pages, to bring together whatever they regarded as most important for teachers to understand. Student lists have been merged and condensed, so that it is hard to say exactly whom or what the final products represent. The first set of items has to do with knowledge content.

What a Good Teacher Should Know

1. Freedom of thought, of speech, and of inquiry, has a purpose, the purpose being to protect learners in their search for right and truth, their consideration of cause-effect-cause.
2. Announcing answers where no questions have been raised is seldom educational. A learner must want to learn, to be different, to know better, to value learning for its uses in his life.
3. Feelings are basic facts in human relations. Change the way in which people feel about people and changes tend to appear in other aspects of personality, including ideas and actions.
4. Learning implies anxieties, so much so that learners tend to hold to the old while reaching out for the new. Anxieties are projected onto other persons, including the teacher.
5. One can learn by talking out his problems, *i.e.*, hitting on a course of action; by developing self-insight; by patterning on models. These mental processes differ somewhat.
6. Learner behaviors must agree in general with approved moral norms, but there is more leeway in these norms than one might suppose. The mores, always in flux, are always to a degree in conflict, permitting individual choice.

This is the first third of the "should know" list. An equal number of points forms a fifth of the "should do" items.

What a Good Teacher Should Do

1. Look at things from a student standpoint, take a student's role. Get acquainted with students as persons, project into their experiences and backgrounds.

2. Reward learners for free, frank talk by being a good listener. Expressions of sympathy must be guarded; *empathy* is better. Reactions should encourage further thinking, remove blocks to it.
3. Be calm in discussing emotional issues. Give the impression that this issue is not novel, that many men have thought about it before, that most persons manage to solve their problems.
4. Be able to "dose" learner anxieties, judge the kind and amount of "reality thinking" each student is able to do. Increase the dosage as the will-to-learn strengthens.
5. Teach learners to face their doubts and insecurities as so many risks to be solved. Write on the board if necessary the cumulative risks in any group-action project, then cross them out as students agree that they are unreal or have been met.
6. Use the group as an educator, a teacher of its members. Direct its actions by informative, persuasive techniques rather than by authoritative rules. Never vote a group, dividing it into winners and losers, if the issue can be resolved.

We do not like this kind of listing very much. It gets too close to kitchen recipes, to proscriptive "do's" and "do not's." Our teaching situations differ, our personalities are variable. A good teacher is a good person teaching, an informed person. He or she should know group theory, know when to use it, when to let it alone. As to teaching practices, we are inclined to trust the approach illustrated by Cartwright, an application of principles as in any other professional field of work.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. How does group-process teaching differ from academic education? Prepare a paper on the question.
2. Hadley Cantril believes that it is in the "acting together for a common purpose" that we achieve our highest sense of worth and value. Agree? Read his *The Why of Man's Experience*, Macmillan, 1951.
3. Where do you stand on the Blackie case? In this kind of classroom situation, what is your own "last resort" technique?
4. If it is time now for you to dig down into groupness, really dig, we suggest George Homans, *The Human Group*, and W. F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*.
5. Test your own insight into group-process teaching and analysis by comparing two or more current fiction books. Good novels on college human relations are G. W. Brace, *The Spire*, R. Macaulay, *Disguises of*

Love, M. McCarthy, *The Groves of Academe*, C. P. Snow, *The Masters*, G. Stewart, *Doctor's Oral*.

6. Gordon Allport once taught a course on race relations to some public officials who were required to take it. They were pretty mad about the deal and some of them blew up. Read his "Catharsis and the Reduction of Prejudice," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1: 3-10, 1945. Do you agree with his general conclusions?

7. "Anima humana naturaliter Christiana." Translate. If you would like to see how this viewpoint has been worked into a system of youth counseling, read Charles A. Curran, *Counseling in Catholic Life and Education*, Macmillan, 1952.

8. Put into your own words your understanding of the group as (a) a medium of change and (b) a change agent. Tell how, in this connection, you conceive the teacher's role. What special points should one watch out for if he is working with a mixed racial, creedal, or national-origins group?

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CHAPTER 12

Area Study-Action as Teaching Method

The setting up of an actual example in a community as a model to demonstrate equality of opportunity is often more effective as an indirect means of modifying attitudes and behaviors than any direct approach to reason or sentiment, or any propaganda effort to induce people to change their actions.

—LOUIS WIRTH

We have discussed two ways of working on intergroup problems, academic instruction and group-process teaching. Both spill over into a third method, the complex chain of community study, service, and change action. In all this, the idea is to provide learners with direct, perceptual experience in area life, issues, and affairs. This is seldom easy and it is never safe, yet it is hard to find any better way by which abstractions can take on meaning and be acted on.

We shall talk now about community education. The problems of people flow into schools, and the schools, the teachers, and their charges, move out into the area around about. While chapter space permits no real coverage of this subject, enough can be said to suggest its importance. The thing we would not like to do is to sell short this kind of education as an approach to current intergroup issues. If people do learn what they live, surely the educator must keep close to the sights and sounds of life, the feel and smell and taste of things.

GRADE-SCHOOL CASES

"I wish children grew on trees," said an exasperated teacher. "But alas!" she added, "they must have parents." To some teachers, the local community *is* parents, those who help, those who hinder, in schoolwork. The first case we shall give is the former

sort, a wise teacher who set out to learn the Spanish language. She writes the account.

I Take Spanish Lessons

About a third of my third-grade pupils are Mexican children. They come to Michigan with their parents to work in sugar beets. They come in groups and in large trucks, often from Texas. Adults can speak only enough English for everyday use. The beet company furnishes each family a home, a shack with a kitchen table, a stove, some chairs, and a bed or two. Water is carried from a common pump, and toilets are as primitive as can be.

I want especially to tell about Modesto, a third-grade pupil. He had to work in beets until November so that he missed almost two months of school. When he came into my class, he was very shy, as all these children are. He did average or better in schoolwork, yet he was not accepted by the English-speaking pupils. Not that they picked on him or mistreated him in any way, but only that he was Mexican, hence held at a distance. This was the pattern of the class, Mexicans playing with Mexicans, white Anglos with Anglos.

About this time, I heard that a class in Spanish was being given at the high school, a class for adults, and I enrolled.

After a lesson or two, I told my children that I was studying Spanish, that it was a language we all should learn. Modesto's face beamed. I asked him in Spanish if he was pleased, but he did not reply. I told him that I was having trouble in learning certain words, asking him if he would help me. He smiled a little but said nothing. "I have learned how to say good morning," I said to the class, and I mispronounced the Spanish for "good morning, children." "No," Modesto said, shaking his head, but he did not go on. "You say it, Modesto," some Anglo said, "you tell us." While the boy said nothing at all, Madeline pronounced the words right. I wrote "*buenas días, muchachos*" on the blackboard and all the children repeated it. I said it would be nice to say good morning in Spanish each day we came to school.

Next morning, Modesto came early. He said he had told his mother about me, and she had said that he should help me with my Spanish. That day he said it would be nice to say "*buenas noches*" at dismissal time, and all the children agreed. Each day thereafter, some new word or phrase crept into class talk. Usually Anglos would say, "How do you say it, Modesto," or Madeline, or someone. With Spanish now an exciting game, we made a plan. Each day, each of us Anglos would learn one new word. The Mexican children were to learn one new English word, all of this taking only a few moments of class time. It was no time before a

contest developed, some children learning as many as four or five new words each day.

As we began to learn both languages, changes in social relations were evident. Modesto, for example, no longer sat alone. An Anglo seatmate joined him, and girls began to make eyes. For the week that I kept count, a full third of the [elected] board erasers, one for each morning and afternoon period, were Mexicans. In playing games where partners or leaders were chosen, Mexican pupils were selected out of all proportion to their number. Always, too, their say was final when some Spanish word came up or its meaning was in dispute.

I had never met Modesto's mother, though I had talked with him about her. One day the boy came to me and said that his mother wanted to call on me. This was, of course, a great surprise, an almost unheard of thing in the district. I set the time next day after class, and she came, bringing two other mothers with her. She spoke enough English so that we could talk, but I deliberately blundered about in Spanish, causing the three women to smile. Finally, they offered to give me Spanish lessons if I really wanted to learn. I offered, in turn, to help them with English, and we arranged to meet at school one evening a week.

I think now this was the way I got acquainted with the Mexican community, for at least 20 adults attended our evening "language" class. The joke is that I never did learn Spanish, haven't unto this day. But I did a lot of practical teaching, English and whatnot. "Whatnot" covered children's clothes, for instance, their food and the like. And I have learned a lot from these parents, so much so that a friend and I spent this summer visiting Mexico.

One can easily misjudge this type of case, decide it is too simple for comment. This is an indirect approach to intergroup problems, language being the medium of contact. Instead of setting out to do good, this teacher made known her need for help, as effective an appeal as one can make. As mothers became interested, the behaviors of their children changed. School was a place that valued Spanish language, Spanish customs. It might be a place to bring one's problems, the perplexities of living among strangers. Some teachers have built lasting reputations in this way. They are viewed in foreign areas as "little mothers" and treated with esteem and respect.

The next case is of the trouble sort, a molehill that blew up into a mountain of parent protest. A few years ago all the people who lived in this suburban community were of Hungarian descent. Many parents were born in the old country. They worked in

nearby factories, had little schooling, and were impoverished. Of late, native white middle-class Americans have moved in, mostly business and professional persons. These incoming people are highly status conscious, so that no love is lost on the "foreign element." These points enter into the case. The narrative is by the guidance worker in the local public schools.

A Fourth-grade Health Lesson

I shall start where this case began rather than at the point where the principal referred it to me.

One day, about two weeks ago, this fourth-grade class had come in from recess. Children were hot and sweaty and were sitting on the gym floor to cool off. Miss M, their teacher, felt [she said] "that this would be a good time to stress once again the need for personal hygiene." She spoke to the children about bodily care, stressing the need to wash oneself several times a day.

In her talk, the teacher said that—quoting her exactly—"one washed all parts of the body. Boys and girls should do this without anyone telling them to. Boys should wash their genitals as carefully as they wash their face and hands. Girls should wash all skin folds, all parts of the body." This was all that was said—no questions from the children, no discussion or the like. The fourth-graders then began their gym class and, of course, at noon most of them went home for lunch.

Almost at once, the principal had a phone call. It was from an American mother (businessman's home), a leader in the PTA. Was the school teaching "sex education"? Why did Miss M talk like this to little children? Who did she think she was? Another call or two came in, so that it was plain that children had talked with parents, asked them to explain words they did not understand. It was plain, too, that the better-off mothers, the incoming middle-class group, were disturbed. Some were very mad.

Well, the amazing thing is the way this trouble spread. We often say in school faculty meetings that our community has never jelled, that that is why we have so little cooperation in school affairs. I believe now that this is not true, that there are plenty of lines connecting people on either side of the fence. Well, the trouble grew and that is why the principal asked me to take the case.

That same afternoon, as I later found out, one mother would phone another and talk over the tabooed terms. It was decided, I guess, that all fourth-grade mothers, "foreigners" excluded, were to be contacted. Three women did this by phone, setting the time for a meeting that evening at a home. Starting at noon the next day, the principal began to

get phone calls. They came regularly for the rest of the day, mostly at half-hour intervals. That night, at his home, this thing continued, only the dads were talking now. Some asked what was going on at school, others when were we going to get rid of those "wop" kids.

When the phone calls started the next morning, the principal asked me to come to the office. He had been in conference with the gym teacher, and when I joined them, she was in tears. She said she did not know what it was all about, that she had done nothing wrong. She kept going over the health lesson, telling exactly what she had said. She was near hysteria and the principal permitted her to take the day off. On the next day, at her request, he gave her a two-day sick leave.

I began that afternoon to make home visits, and my reception was chilly to say the least. In each home, I heard much the same story. The school was teaching sex education. This was done because the Hungarian pupils were so dirty that they endangered American children. They had already spread several contagious diseases through the school, and so on and so on. Not a whit of truth in this, but a flat denial on my part did no good. The "boss" had told me what to say, so I could not be believed. Anyhow, the mothers were out "to get the gym teacher" and "to clean up the place."

All I could think to do was to call a meeting, to get these women together so that we could talk things through. This was approved by the principal, though he added that it was a big risk to take. He preferred that I should handle it, and he could then come in if the going got rough. I phoned all fourth-grade mothers, everyone, set a date, and invited them, but only three Hungarian mothers came. It was a late afternoon meeting, and every American mother showed up.

I was at the door of the gym as each mother came in. I greeted each one as if we were acquainted. As we shook hands, I told who I was and asked her name, for I knew only a few of them. All of us sat in a big circle, and tea was served. The first thing I did on calling the meeting to order was to ask that each of us introduce herself. I noticed that the three foreign mothers were well groomed, well mannered, and spoke excellent English.

"Now," I said, "it is time to come to business." I kept my voice matter of fact as I related exactly what had happened. "We are all agreed," I stated, "that this was a bad choice of words, that fourth-graders are young." Selecting one mother whom I knew, I asked her how she felt. "Well," she said "we mothers feel like you do," with several heads nodding in confirmation. Taking a long chance, I remarked, "If that is how we all feel, I am sure this unfortunate happening can be settled pretty quick." Mrs. S, the mother whom I had asked to speak, added that it now seemed "a little silly" to her.

Judging that the time was ripe, I talked a moment or two. "We have a fine community here and a very good school. We want to make both better, and we'll have to work together to do that." There were some nods of assent, not many, however. "Health education would be a good place to start. What did mothers want their children taught?" This led us off into many things—cleanliness, rest, exercise, dental care, diet, and so on—each of which I listed as it was named.

As I write now, I am getting ready for a second meeting with this mothers' group. What happened to the sex issue? Once it was faced, it disappeared. I have found this true many times in community work, that is, that surface tensions may not be real. I judge the real trouble is our divided community. Maybe an active and inclusive Mothers' Club would be as good as anything for that.

There is no huffing and puffing in this account, no romantic derring-do. The story is told simply, yet what happened is significant. Ignorance in action can be an awful thing; it can wreck a school. These parents were alarmed, as perhaps they had cause to be. Their concern was handled with dispatch and good judgment, the action being to get acquainted, to assess the facts. School people are human, meaning that we do not always do well in handling tensional issues. The next case is an example. It is written by a teacher in School A, and the setting is a large metropolitan community.

Pupil Transfer, Parent Protest

Schools A, B, C, and D are located on the north side of a big city. Schools B, C, and D are within a mile of School A, where I teach. All are elementary, grades 1 to 6. All draw from a lower-class, heterogeneous urban area, about half Negro and half white; part native and part alien. School A has 1,200 pupils, with a pupil-teacher ratio of 45. The other schools are considerably smaller, with ratios of 25 to 32. The problem was how to relieve the overcrowding at School A.

At the beginning of the present school year, we teachers judge that the principals got together and decided to redistrict these school areas so that 236 pupils could be transferred from School A. I am guessing on how this decision was reached, for no teacher was consulted. On a Friday morning, we got a note from the principal saying that such-and-such pupils in our homerooms would report on the following Friday to School B, C, or D. The notice also said that a letter was being sent by these children to inform their parents. All school records were to be ready by the coming Wednesday, at which time they would be collected and taken

to the proper school. While this meant a lot of extra work for us, we were glad to do it in order to equalize class loads in the four districts.

On Friday, the school transfer was made. Most pupils simply showed up at their new school. Those who returned to School A were told that they were not enrolled there, that they belonged in School B, C, or D. That same morning, though we teachers did not know it, the office phone began to ring. Most of the calls were from some 30 white parents whose children were being sent to School B, an all-Negro school. I should have said that all the schools but B are about half and half, with a mixed staff. The staff at School B is colored, as are the pupils.

Well, for the next two or three days, parents came in. They came individually or in small groups, protesting the change. We knew that some angry talk was going on, though as I have said, we teachers had no very central part in it. The principal was firm, I guess, so that it looked as if the redistricting could be made to stick.

But the parents had only begun to fight. What they did was to organize and go to the school board. The pressure was so great that the board gave way, ordering the return of all pupils to School A. Again, we did not know exactly what was happening, only what the pupils—who had begun to drift back—told us that their parents had said. Then came a notice from the principal, telling us that all our pupils would return. They were a pretty chesty lot when they came in, trooping through the halls and storming about. At no time did the principal explain to us what had happened, so that we are still in the dark.

Two effects are very evident. One is that parents say openly that they are running the schools, and there is talk among white parents of moving all the Negro children to School B (which could not hold a third of them). Second, we teachers feel let down. Why aren't we taken into the planning that goes on? I can tell you that the attitude toward the principal is pretty bad.

This is a complex case in which many basic facts are missing. From what is given, it appears likely that these school heads erred in handling the redistricting issue. It must be admitted, however, that any plan might have failed, for on such occasions, feelings run high. What might have been done under the circumstances is an interesting question for class speculation.

THE FLOW-OF-LIFE IDEA

At the college level, one meets at times what can be called the "flow-of-life idea," the notion that students should be plunged into whatever happens, that this is the way to teach social realities.

What this might mean can best be inferred from an extreme example, say, a race riot or lynching. We shall use a more ordinary illustration, the Sheng case in California.

*Sing Shengs and Democracy*¹

The Sing Shengs were house hunting. The white bungalow with pink shutters in San Francisco's Southwood suburb was about what this family of three wanted, so they bought the house with a down payment of 2,950 dollars. Then Sing, a United States college graduate, got a phone call. Their future neighbors, all white, did not want them to move in; in fact, they were very explicit about what would happen if they tried to make the move. "I was not born in America," Sing said, "and I don't understand. I did not know about any race prejudice here."

Sing took refuge in America when the Communists came to power in China. He thought surely that in a country so great, so democratic, and so world minded, a little personal problem like his own could be solved. He went to see some of his Southwood neighbors-to-be, and he was pleased to find a fellow worker at Pan-American Airways. Harry, his fellow worker, wanted to talk about the friends he had made in China before the war, but Sing brought him to the point. Harry made it quite clear that he was not on Sing's side. "Nothing personal," he said, "but the property owners did not want the area overrun by non-Caucasians." Sing found out, further, that residents had clauses in their deeds which forbid property sales to non-Caucasians.

Sing found out, he said, that our United States Supreme Court had declared such discriminatory clauses nonenforceable. What would happen if he insisted on his legal rights as a naturalized citizen and moved in? "Well," said the neighbors, "children might be inclined to throw garbage on his lawn or break out his windows." In fact, one could not tell what the kids would do. Sing, acting a bit more naïve than he was, said he did not see how children could do such things unless their parents told them to. He added that it did not seem a good way to bring up youngsters in a country dedicated to the principles of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

At this point, someone straightened out Sing's thought. "Look," he was told. "You've been to college, you've read the books. You've been taught the United States is like what they write in history. But that's not the whole picture. There are other things to be considered. In short, people must stick together to protect themselves, their property rights, and so on."

Sheng walked away, wiser and sadder. And then he thought of a "democratic" way out. Let the neighbors vote on whether or not his family should move in, and he would abide by their decision. He spoke to some

¹ From *Time*, Feb. 25, 1952, and other press reports.

residents and they agreed, so that a ballot was sent to each Southwood home. With great hope, Sing sent each family head a letter.

Dear Sir and Madam:

Before you reach any decision as to how you will vote in the ballot, please allow us to tell you our opinion.

The present world conflict is not between individual nations but between Communism and Democracy. We think so highly of Democracy because it offers freedom and equality. America's forefathers fought for these principles and won independence in 1776. We have forsaken all our beloved in China. We have come to this country seeking basic freedom rights. Do not make us the victims of a false democracy.

Please vote for us.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Sing Sheng & Family

The real-estate development company also sent out a letter. *Protect your property; keep the non-Caucasians out!*

When, in a neighbor's garage, the vote was counted, 174 objected to Sheng and his family. Only 28 did not, and 14 had no opinion. Sing took it in good turn, considering. Dressed in a neat, dark business suit, he rose to speak, while his Chinese-American wife cried. "Thank you," he said. "Thank you very much for your decision." And then without apparent bitterness, "I hope your property values go up and up."

In commenting on this case, Walter White wrote that a "furious debate" raged in California and elsewhere over the 174 to 28 vote. The governor expressed his regrets to the Shengs and to the public. Newspapers printed letters, running 26 to 1 in favor of fair play. Mass media in the United States featured the story, as did the Soviet press abroad.

Few realists in intergroup education can avoid "crisis teaching" altogether, nor would they try to do so. Such happenings fix attention, make a teachable moment, as routines can never do. And yet there is risk, physical and otherwise. For our part, we think a plan is needed whereby students can function as students. An example is a focus on "role changes" at critical times. Under grave disaster, to make our meaning clear, how do people behave? Which of their several roles—father, school head, citizen, etc.—do they follow?² Whatever the teacher-student plan of study, *learners*

² See Lewis M. Killian, "The Significance of Multigroup Membership in Disaster," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57: 309-314, 1952.

should be learners. Their chances for real learning, the risks involved, their readiness to learn, what is really learned, should be appraised.

AREA TRIPS AND SURVEYS

No writing on community education would dare to neglect area trips and surveys. An example of a college study tour, a travel seminar, comes from Sarah Lawrence College, a high-rated Eastern school for girls. Twenty students and three professors chartered a bus and set out to see the TVA area and projects. One girl was from Denmark, another from Sweden, and a third from occupied Germany. Two students were Negroes, one of these Canadian, the other from New York. The tour was part of a social-science course and under the charge of Professor Edward Solomon, a former Mississippian.

A Trip South³

"We did not go South on a campaign," Professor Solomon says. "It had been our original plan to go to a small Pennsylvania town, live with the people, study the economics of the community and local trade unionism. Then we thought of studying the TVA and getting a view of a planned program of social change. We were also interested in seeing Virginia, the seat of our early government."

In view of the mixed character of the group, the trip required careful pre-planning. "Now we could have stayed at Negro colleges, or we could have segregated our Negro students, but we were determined to make this thing as clean as possible." Solomon began at once to telephone and to write his friends in the South and to collect travel-agency folders. "A hotel in Knoxville agreed to take us, but to quote the manager, 'if anything happens, you must say you are foreign students.' I took this to the girls and they rejected it. We called back to say that we were a mixed group of Americans, and the man said that we should not come."

One college in the Carolinas had plenty of room, but the Negro students would have to be put up in the servants' quarters. A Virginia college head told Solomon, "We cannot feed you, and we cannot give you an interracial conference on the campus." The University of Virginia advised, "We cannot figure out a way for you to sleep here, and we have never had a mixed group eat in the Commons."

While these Northern students did not sleep at Thomas Jefferson's famous university, "they were the first mixed group to eat on the campus." They were guests at Madison Hall, the campus YMCA building,

³ Adapted from Horace Sutton, "Seeing America First," *Saturday Review*, pp. 32-34, Mar. 1, 1952.

where Southern students and foreign students, whites and Negroes, "mixed happily in one party." In Solomon's opinion, "it was a big step. In terms of their background, they went very far."

At an Abingdon, Va., hotel, one Sarah Lawrence faculty member told the manager, "if you will tell me where the dining room is, I'll collect our party." His reply was, "Let the girls wander around, the hotel is yours." To keep down friction as much as possible, the students ate box lunches in lieu of mid-day stops at eating places.

Hearing of a good motel near Charlottesville, Solomon phoned the owner. "I'm told you have a fine motor court down there." Assured that this was true, the professor continued. "We're taking 20 kids over to the TVA, but our problem arises from the fact that a couple are colored. Now I'm from Mississippi and my father is a Baptist preacher, so I understand your situation." There was a long pause and then, from the other end of the line, came the drawl, "I never have taken no colored. Nope, I just can't do it."

Solomon asked if this man would help him find a place, and he was advised to phone a Negro hotel. "Well, you understand how we live up here in the North. All our girls at the college eat together and sleep together, and we have to find a place where we can live like we do at the college. How would it be," he asked, "if we took the whole court?" At first the motel man was reluctant to consider the offer, and then he said, "I'll risk it if you put the two colored girls in a cabin by themselves." "Now our group's not going to like that," the trip manager replied, "but I'll take it up with them." He asked that the court be reserved, giving the date.

"You may ask," said Solomon much later in reporting this experience, "why we didn't just let the two Negro kids sleep in the same bunk. That would have been easiest, but we didn't want to do it that way." What actually happened was that the group rented the whole court, though no charge was made for the unused cabins. "That night I asked him [the owner] if he wanted to see our bunking list. I told him I didn't know who was sleeping with whom. He said 'Naw, it's OK.'"

On the return trip, the party stopped again at this motel. This time the owner came out to the bus, swung up the steps, and peered into every girl's face. "I began to get nervous," recalls Solomon. "You get so jumpy you tend to treat everything like a combat situation." Finally the Virginian spotted one girl, the trip photographer. He smiled and said, "Jest married me a new wife, pretty as a speckled pup. Want you should take a picture of us."

So much for travel details. If this picture of a mixed group of college students traveling through the South excited Southern people, these people and the atmosphere of their life had its effect on the travelers, too.

Said one white girl, "I didn't feel relaxed until we were in the dining room in Philadelphia. It was a thoroughly awkward and uncomfortable situation. I felt as though I had to go out of my way all along the trip to prove that Martie and Joan are my friends."

We have omitted details of the TVA visit in order to tell about travel conditions and experiences. Judging from trip "logs," students learn as much from the latter influences as from the points of interest which they go to see.

Let us look now at two area surveys in which students, working with their professors, took part. The first is a fairly standard opinion poll, made in Detroit. Students served as house-to-house interviewers. Whites talked with whites, Negro students with Negroes. Respondents consisted of 593 persons selected as a representative (stratified) sample of city population.

How a People Feel about Their City⁴

Do Detroiters like Detroit? On the whole, they do. About 87 per cent of the sample liked to live in the city, 13 per cent did not. A full 85 per cent were proud of the city, 15 per cent were not. Only 1 per cent found Detroit *not* a good place to work, with 88 per cent saying it was very good or above average. Two-thirds of the sample felt the city was a good place to raise a family, and a third did not. Four-fifths were unwilling to leave Detroit, whereas a fifth under certain conditions were willing to go.

Attitudes differed by age and sex and other variables. In general, people most favorable in viewpoints were business managers and owners, persons who came to Detroit before 1930, those who came from farms and small towns, foreigners, older adults, persons with an eighth-grade schooling or less. Less favorable were younger adults, high school and college goers, better-off suburban residents (notably wives), more recent immigrants, Negroes, persons from other places in Michigan.

Why is Detroit believed to be a good place to raise a family? Of the 468 reasons in support of this view, 43 per cent praised the city's schools, 15 per cent involved work, 13 per cent recreation, sports, etc., and 10 per cent cultural advantages such as music, art, and libraries.

Asked what kinds of people they considered undesirable to have in the city, criminals and gangsters were named in 26 per cent of the replies; poor Southern whites, "hillbillies," in 21 per cent; transients, drifters, nonselfsupporting, 18 per cent; Negroes, 13 per cent; foreigners, 6 per cent. Asked if pressure groups ran the city, 42 per cent said no, implying

⁴ This study was directed by Professor Arthur Kornhauser. Our facts are taken from his report *Attitudes of Detroit People toward Detroit*, Wayne University Press, 1952.

the public was in control. Of the 58 per cent who said yes, the groups specified in descending rank order were (1) businessmen, industrialists, rich people; (2) labor unions, organized labor; (3) politicians, bosses; (4) Jews; (5) Negroes; (6) racketeers, gamblers, the underworld. The last three categories drew only from 6 to 2 per cent of the total affirmative vote.

What matters do Detroiters think it most important to do something about? Housing needs ranked first, Negro-white relations next, bus and streetcar transportation third. After these top concerns came a number of items, city government, traffic conditions, labor-management, public schools, and so on. In the judgment of the surveyors, the most striking finding was the interest in and anxiety about race relations. For instance, should Negroes have full citizen rights? The white vote was: 18 per cent for, 28 per cent neutral or unclassifiable, and 54 per cent against.

Young adults were more in favor of improving race relations, *i.e.*, equalizing opportunities, than were older persons. The educated were more favorable than the less well educated, as were persons who were above average economic levels. Detroiters who had moved in from outside the city were less prejudiced toward Negroes than were the native-born. Labor union members expressed no more willingness to accept Negroes as equals than did nonunion members. A larger ratio of Catholics in the sample, in comparison with Protestants, were opposed to the acceptance of Negroes.

This is formal surveying or opinion polling. The next case compares responses obtained by this method with responses found by use of the informal participant-observer technique. This latter method consisted of listening to the rather free comments of people, the kinds of talk heard in home calls, at social gatherings, and the like. The focus of the study was on the role of minorities, chiefly Jews and Negroes, in local area life. The report states first the two major survey findings and then seeks to explain them.

*What People Say vs. What They Feel, Mean, and Tend to Do*⁵

Our data come from a 5-month study of the attitudes of 430 adults selected as a sample of Maple County, Mich., residents. Field work was done by students whom we had trained in formal interviewing (use of schedules) and in the participant-observer technique. We shared in data gathering, in addition to supervising the study from the beginning to the end.

⁵ Based on Wilbur B. Brookover and John B. Holland, "An Inquiry into the Meaning of Minority-group Attitude Expressions," *American Sociological Review*, 17: 196-202, 1952.

First, *observational findings* show that relations with any minority are not a topic of common conversation in Maple County. There are few Jewish and Negro residents, and they, along with immigrant individuals, are inconspicuous in area life. There is seldom any free expression of attitudes toward them. In general, townsmen and farmers seem to know little and care little about these minorities.

While this conclusion rests mainly on participant-observer data, it was confirmed in formal interviews. For example, in our initial opinion poll subjects were asked, "What kinds of people are there that this county would really be better off without?" Only 7 per cent of the sample named Jews, and 5.6 per cent named Negroes. Asked if "there were kinds of people living around here that folks would just as soon not have around?" no one mentioned Jews and only 3 per cent said Negroes.

Second, in the *formal opinion poll* the adults questioned "consistently expressed . . . highly unfavorable attitudes toward all the minorities about whom they were asked." Attitudes consisted mainly of the traditional "stereotyped patterns of discrimination," the exclusion of minority individuals.

On the face of it, these data from the two methods of study are contradictory . . . and raise the question of the true attitudes of Maple County citizens. The remainder of this report will seek to answer this question.

First, it might be assumed that opinion-poll answers are correct, that subjects have a negative attitude toward Jews and Negroes. This is, to repeat, what the poll responses indicate. It might be inferred, therefore, that townsmen and farmers are actively concerned about these minorities, even hostile toward them. Since participant-observer data do not support this view, another interpretation appears necessary.

What the formal interview findings suggest, in our opinion, is that most persons in the sample are intolerant of some *images* of minority-group members. For instance, take the item "Americans must be on guard against the Jews getting too much power," a favorite test question in national polls. Only 17½ per cent of our sample disagreed with this view, about the same percentage as found in a Baltimore, Md., survey made a little earlier. But the Maple County vote has a different meaning from the sentiments expressed in Baltimore. In this Michigan county, there is no possibility of the few Jews ever having significant power. In Baltimore, many citizens may think that Jews do—or may—run the city, take control of it. That is, the reality situation is very different. *Maple County reactions are, therefore, toward hear-say, ill-defined, distant images of Jews.*

Let us take another approach, the relation of formal opinion-poll data to the actual overt behaviors of people. Soon after our survey began, a Negro couple moved into a part of the county we shall call Smithville.

Nine out of ten Smithvillers had agreed with the test item which reads: "It is a good idea to keep Negroes out of white neighborhoods." One might, then, have expected trouble when the Negro couple moved in. And, yet, there was no unfriendly action whatever. On the contrary, the Negro family was invited to attend a local church. Of even greater significance was the way in which whites redefined Negro-ness. "They say they're Negro," said one informant, "but really they're very light. She is just real white."

Aside from skin color, this Negro family, the Comptons, met all the expectations of the locality as to what people should be and do. Family members worked hard. They minded their own business. They attended church, and so on. Had they not conformed to area mores, "lived like good respectable people," it is almost certain that attitudes toward them would have been hostile. This is also true of attitudes toward white families which are said to be "no account."

Take another Negro family, the Grossmans. Whites are outspoken in their resentment of them. The family is torn by constant bickering. Arthur, the only son, has a history of delinquency. As a high school senior, he dated a white girl, a practice strongly disapproved by whites. For these reasons and others, the Grossmans are neither liked nor spoken well of.

To sum up, Maple County whites are anti-Negro as judged by their replies on a formal agree-disagree attitude scale. But the sentiments they express toward Negro residents depend on situational factors. *Where a Negro family accepts local customs, keeps within set taboos, white attitudes are friendly.* Where the reverse is true, whites are hostile, retaliatory, discriminative.

In respect to Jews, the same situation prevails. Among our cases, there are many examples of "misidentification." One merchant whom townsmen said was Jewish was Catholic. Several livestock buyers were said to be "Jew buyers" when they were not. On the other hand, there are Maple County Jews who are never so identified. A case is that of a young man who has just been elected president of a luncheon club. He has never tried to hide the fact that he is Jewish, in truth, speaks with no hesitation of his contributions to an out-of-town synagogue.

The type of data just cited raise the question of how the image of Jews, a stereotype, becomes attached to this or that real person. The process is no doubt the same as that we have described in respect to Negroes. The image of the Jew is applied to some Jews but not to all, and some non-Jews may be thought of as having Jewish characteristics. It depends, to repeat, on individual behaviors.

In general, it seems impossible to predict in Maple County the real attitudes of persons, their tendencies to act, from formal surveying.

To be able to predict overt actions, one must know the latent sentiments of the majority group, their customs and expectations. He must know the specific social situations which evoke these basic attitudes, translate them into friendly or hostile gestures. The strength of participant-observer study lies in uncovering these hidden mind-sets and predispositions.

Students who take part in the kinds of surveying illustrated in the Detroit and Maple County cases learn a lot about community. The second case in particular is instructive. It suggests that, to understand the primary-group mode of life, one must uncover an area's taken-for-granted views and values. It is the function of the participant-observer technique to get at these latent sentiments, in contrast to formal opinion polling. The latter has, of course, its own uses and values.

NATURE OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

With so many good books now available on the theory and practice of community education,⁶ we doubt the need of writing at length on its rationale. "We are too exclusively bookish in our scholastic routines," says Whitehead.⁷ "General training," he continues, "should aim at eliciting our *concrete* apprehensions and should satisfy the itch of the youth to be doing something." Graham Wallas⁸ notes that "the emotions of children are most easily reached, not by words, but by sights and sounds." Why he did not add other sensory contacts—touch, taste, smell—we do not know, nor do we know why he did not include adults in his statement.

The point these men make is that book learning is not enough. Life has become very remote, very abstract, and it is part of wisdom to put faces on things, to go and see as much of appearances as one can. Many persons, young and old, learn better this way than in any other way. What they learn has more reality; that is, it is more meaningful, goes deeper, and lasts longer than does reading about things out of books. This is *direct experience*, in contrast to vicarious experience as discussed in the next chapter, though the points just made hold true for both.

⁶ A mixture of both, one version out of many, is Elsie Ripley Clapp, *The Use of Resources in Education*, a John Dewey Society publication, Harper, 1952.

⁷ Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, p. 278, Macmillan, 1925.

⁸ In *Human Nature in Politics*, p. 209, Knopf, 1921.

For our part, we think community education owes a lot to Dewey and to Hart. Dewey started, as every student knows, what he called a "new kind of school . . . a transition point between home and society." Learning was to be a creative process, a "reorganization of past experiences" in order to achieve present meanings. Teacher role was that of group manager, guider, leader, of study and action. Dewey, he it said, was no narrow dogmatist, no antitheory man. He regarded all kinds of thinking as doing activities, as much or more than he did big muscle flexing. To him, learning was a preparation for living as well as life itself, and the two were not contradictory as they have of late been made to seem.

About 1918, Hart⁹ wrote a paragraph that has continued to disturb academic educators. "The problem of democratic education," he said, "is not the training of children in any formal sense. . . . It is the building of a community in which young people cannot help but grow into active, intelligent, sensitive citizens. . . . No school can do this," the author concluded; "only a school and a community can do it."

Here were, we believe, the main foundations for present-day community education. Neither Hart nor Dewey conceived learning in individual psychological terms. Both viewed it as a social experience. Dewey would recreate school as a functional community, an active purposing group. Hart, while favoring this, would also immerse teachers and pupils in the flow of life outside the four walls, the environing area. Both held that school alone could not do the educational job, that school and community cooperation was imperative.

TEACHING ABOUT RELIGIONS

We have been mindful all along of the theme used to introduce this chapter, the effectiveness of an action program, a concrete example. Since we are already overbalanced on race, let us take a creedal case.

The case chosen is one of some 30 examples of public-school work in religious education which were observed in College Study years. The community is a fairly small industrial center in the East. All three major faiths—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish—are represented in the city's population of native white, foreign white, and Negro.

⁹ J. K. Hart, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 370-371, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1918. A posthumous publication of Hart's papers, edited by H. Gordon Hullfish, is *Education in the Humane Community*, Harper, 1951.

The writer is the high school principal, and his report runs to more than 50 typed pages. Space requires us to delete a good deal, including most of his course-of-study outline.

Role of Religions in Social Life

Last year our school put in a course on the role of religions in social life. The course is elective at the junior level and admission is via parental consent. The course is *about* religions, just as economics or government would be about that phase of culture, that department of our everyday life. One aim is to study the nation's major faith groups, their history, present status, and recent trends. Another aim is to understand church services here at home, the services churches perform in our town. The third aim is to relate religious teachings to youth problems, the faith and conduct problems our youngsters have.

We did not begin this work until after prolonged thought and then only with board consent. We have taken the community along each step of the way, and if the town ever loses faith in us, the course will end.

The first problem we took up was the *need* for this kind of education. I appointed a fact-finding committee of nine members—three teachers, three parents (one from each faith), and three students. They prepared a bibliography, read much of it, and interviewed a sample of church leaders and of parents. They worked in all about three months, after which they drew up a report. Their evidence seemed to support these main conclusions:

1. Our nation shows a strong secular trend, a growing emphasis on materialistic, antireligious values.
2. We have over 250 creedal groups in the nation. Each differs from any other in ways its members regard as important. Each has a right, in custom and in law, to differ and to teach its differences.
3. All Judeo-Christian faiths, probably all great faiths, have common elements which, taken *in toto*, define religion, that is, distinguish it from any other phase of our culture.
4. Every faith group performs a number of basic community services, for example, the spiritual and moral education of the young.
5. Though evidence is not conclusive, there is reason to suspect a great deal of religious intolerance among children of school age. To us, this raises the problem of how one creed can be taught without damage to any other.
6. Religions do not function in the conduct of teen-age youth as home, school, and church authorities agree that they should function, whether the issue be Bible study, Sabbath school, church youth groups, or everyday behaviors.

7. It is our opinion that a factual, contemplative approach to religious education can strengthen the understanding, faith, and morals of high school youth.

Our next step was to inform the school board of our thinking along these lines. I made this presentation, asking only that we be authorized to put the matter before the community at large. If we could win public consent to go ahead, we would then propose a course of study. If we failed in this, the idea would be dropped. Judging from the discussion, a clear majority favored our plan of action. Rather than to have a split vote, I suggested that the proposal be tabled until board members could give it study, and this was done.

For at least a month, we talked things over. Three board members attended a meeting of the initial Committee of Nine at the school, and I called on two other members at their homes. One line of inquiry was legal, whether or not a course in religious education could be taught in school as a phase of cultural history. Another point of interest, the main point, was whether such a course could be fair to all faith groups. Third, there was the practical matter of who would teach the course. I said that we would expect local church leaders to advise us in this teaching but that Mrs. Lewis, a social studies teacher, would be in charge.

When the proposal came up for board action, a motion to approve was made and carried, with one dissenting vote. We now had board sanction to approach the community, a task we thought would take several months.

Needing now an action committee, the old study group decided to disband so that a new and larger group could be formed. This Joint Committee on Religious Education comprised about 40 members, including students, faculty, parents, ministers, and civic leaders. It had an executive committee of five, one representative of each of these groups. Though I was elected chairman, we rotated this important post.

For a month, the Joint Committee held Thursday evening meetings at the board room. It attempted no business to speak of, simply reviewing materials and exchanging ideas. Of course, there were many uncertainties, many genuine doubts and fears. We did not try to by-pass any of these, for the aim was as much *consensus* as the group could achieve. At times, disagreements were assigned to a small committee (including the disagreeers) to try to clear up. Mostly, however, such items were handled in open meeting. For example, as specific doubts or fears took shape, I wrote them on the board as "risks" we might have to face. At times that seemed apropos, I read off the list, asking if any item had been cleared up, if it could now be erased. That way we got rid of most of these items, though new ones were added.

I guess this was the hardest month in the 6-month project which we had to face. Some issues could not be resolved in favor of one side or the other, so that we had to seek compromises. I can illustrate by taking the small group, not over ten at any time, which felt that all religious education should be left to churches and homes. The most telling argument against this view was that these institutions were failing at the job. Did the school think it could do any better? Was there any evidence to support this? No, it had to be admitted, there was little evidence to go on. But why not give the school a trial? Why not regard it as supplementing church and home training? Or better still, why not try to improve instruction in all three institutions?

It was this type of patient thinking that saved the day, assuming that our basic goal was sound. We had some die-hards to be sure, but mostly, after making a fight, people went along. We tried wherever possible to avoid a vote, where someone always loses, and to reshape ideas so that people could agree.

By this time, a division of labor had been suggested and subcommittees appointed, each with its own work to do. I visited with each subcommittee as it met, giving whatever help I could. The committee on the course of study had the most difficult time. First, it asked all members of the Joint Committee to submit in writing ideas that should be included in the course. After this, outside persons were solicited, including, I think, all the ministers in the town. Our records show that eight course outlines were made, each revised to incorporate criticisms. The outline finally approved [unit titles only] for a trial run was as follows:

A Study of Religion in Our Life

- I. The Nature of Religion
- II. A Study of Our Local Churches
- III. Youth Problems of Faith and Conduct
- IV. Building a Spiritual Outlook
- V. Student Evaluation of the Course

This outline, with each unit broken down into parts, was discussed in a run of meetings—PTA's, churches, civic clubs. After a month of this, the Joint Committee drew up a proposal for the Board of Education. We asked permission to try out this course for a period of 2 years, with a formal (and factual) report on pupil learnings and reactions at the end of each year. Mrs. Lewis was to be in charge, assisted by a school-community advisory committee. The course was to be elective by third-year students and to require parental consent.

There was not much board-member debate; in fact, I sensed considerable enthusiasm. The proposal passed with, once again, one dissenting

vote. We are now nearing the end of our first experimental year, and student reactions have been good. There has been no trouble of any kind, though Mrs. Lewis moves with extreme care. Some parents are uneasy, I admit, but we listen to their ideas and give them whatever explanations and assurances that we can. It is with a minister or two that we are most likely to have trouble, for one has preached right along in his small church against our work. Other ministers have preached for it, for they know that we are honest in our noncreedal values. We do not discredit any creed but teach that all of them are good, that each merits our thoughtful interest and support.

Let us state at once that we do not present this case as a model, a pattern to be followed. Second, knowing that many educators and perhaps most citizens are opposed to any kind of religious education in public schools, we cannot take a position of advocacy, no matter how strongly we feel about the need to strengthen religious influences in the life of school-age boys and girls. Third, if any justification is needed for the case, its use in classroom discussion seems sufficient to us. It will compel student thought, lead students to take stands pro and con. We believe that this issue should be kept before schools and their publics, that someone will find someday a better way of relating education and religion than any we have so far seen or read about. To our way of thinking, this problem has not yet been solved.

The strengths of the case are several, as we see it. The approach to religion is nonsectarian, *a study of religion as a phase of culture*. Course theory does not hold that one creed is better than another or even that all are equal. Each is different, each is valued by its adherents. All have common elements, for example, belief in God, in life after death, in the Commandments. The aim is to study and learn about each faith, in sum, *to make better citizens*. On the practical side, we like the effort to involve the students and the community, to build a course of study out of shared concerns. In closing his report, the principal admits that this kind of school planning is a "lot of work." This fact, along with a number of obvious risks, have deterred many educators from any effort of this sort.

The best argument against any case of this kind is made by Thayer.¹⁰ First, he traces the history of common schooling, showing how public nonsectarian education has developed. This takes him through a long succession of laws and court decisions. He finds

¹⁰ V. T. Thayer, *The Attack upon the American Secular School*, Beacon Press, 1951.

that secular schooling is neither "morally deficient" nor "pernicious," but rather that it is the "only practical alternative" in a nation of many faiths. He believes that the kinds of experiences which build character are nonsectarian, citing findings of science to support his views.

Thayer describes as "practices which undermine" all measures to "sneak religions into schools," such as compulsory Bible reading, common-faith prayers, and any sort of religious ceremonial. He opposes religious instruction on released time, as well as the granting of any public funds for the support of nonpublic schools. All such practices tend, in his judgment, to destroy the separation of church and state. He asserts that any kind of religious education in public schools which would be acceptable to religionists would be contrary to law. On the other hand, any study of religion under school auspices, if it conformed to law, would be unacceptable to these same churchmen. Finally, there is danger that schools will be used by denominational groups to expand their creedal memberships.

Thayer speaks, we assume, for most public educators. Some of them feel that the whole issue is overdrawn. "Within a generation or two," writes a professor who read this chapter in manuscript, "formal religions will be as dead as dodoes." Maybe so, but church membership trends as cited in Chapter 2 do not appear to support this view. Our critic is inclined to discount these statistics. He holds that religions have lost substance, that they persist as social forms. People join churches because that is the conventional thing to do.

COOPERATION AND CONFLICT

With space for but one more topic, several ideas that might have been discussed here will have to be carried over until later. The point with which we shall conclude is a matter of importance in all sorts of school and community work.

There is a strong anticonflict view among intergroup educators. It condemns all conflict—racial, creedal, whatnot—as evil and then, to balance the scales, makes a fetish of cooperation.¹¹ Everyday group struggle is, to make a guess, equated with war. War, hot or cold, is harmful. It is a breakdown of order, a barbaric way of

¹¹ See Lloyd Allen Cook, "The Men and the Boys in School and Community Cooperation," *Educational Leadership*, 10: 214-219, 1953.

settling things. While we hate war as much as anyone, it does not seem reasonable to us to apply this same mode of thought to mine-run civic disputes. We are inclined to think that they are different.

To come at once to the issue, consider a very influential little book.¹² On its jacket, we are told that the volume is the "carrier of an epoch-making idea . . . out of which may evolve a basic revolution in the outlook of man upon man." For the "first time," we read, "evidence is brought to show that cooperation, not conflict, is the natural law of life." Thus what has been text material for countless Sabbath sermons "is now revealed as having a valid, scientific base."

Has it, has it indeed? Not that any of us, or the world at large, does not need more of the spirit of mutuality, lest we destroy ourselves. Of course we do, for we are no "anti" cooperators. But was Darwin so wrong? Was he such a bad scientist? Did he distort the nature of organic life? We, ourselves, doubt that he did. If cooperation has been dominant in human history, why all the wars, the persecutions, the rivalries? Is there no struggle for existence, for food and shelter, for ideas and art forms, for "beizbol"? Must we return to tribalism for security? Depend upon a kind of ingroup nuzzling for "happy, joyous" children? Do we really value individuality, want people to mature?

Obviously, there is something wrong here. Cooperate with whom? When and for what ends, what goals? Under what give-and-take conditions? What system of mutual rights and duties? We dare not, as teachers, think and talk loosely about cooperation. Mother love can smother children as well as nurture them. A school, a college, can be too tight, too compulsive, to permit the freedom so necessary for mental and emotional growth. Criminals cooperate, as do racial discriminators and exploiters. Laura Hobson's *Gentlemen's Agreement* is a perfect example of a vast network of anti-Semitic cooperators, the gentle people of prejudice.

So much for unreasoned cooperation. Let us turn to conflict. Industrial disputes, including strikes, are good examples. The public believes that strikes hurt it even more than they hurt contending parties. Many persons want protection against strikes, want them stopped. But harmful as these punitive contests are, there appears

¹² Ashley Montagu, *On Being Human*, Schuman, 1950. In a second book, *Darwin: Competition and Cooperation*, Schuman, 1952, the author seeks to overtake his first volume. He explains that his theory of cooperation does not conflict with Darwin's ideas but rather extends them.

to be no sure way under present law to prevent them, and there is reason for this.

At various times, Taft-Hartley injunctions have been invoked to prevent a threatened strike. After this restraining order has run its course, the strike as a rule goes on. "In the first eight instances when this procedure was used," writes a government mediator, "five disputes went through the entire 80-day period and came out without settlement."¹³ Strikes were then legal, and they were called by either labor or management.

"When a strike appears in the wind," writes this same authority, "an attempt is made to mediate the conflict." That is, a third party intervenes, one who is trained in resolving disputes and who works in the public interest. Under present law, this mediator has no power except that of fact finding, reasoning, and persuasion. Thus the hope he offers the public is his skill in bringing disputants together to help them reach a voluntary agreement. The bigger the impending strike, the less likely it is that mediation will work. Disputants view it as a whistle stop, a way station on the road to the battle lines. This is a curious fact, for after all is said and done, there must still be a meeting of minds. Mediation will work now, after contestants have become deadlocked, though it would not work to prevent the strike.

A teacher needs to reflect on conflict in and outside industry, to set down in black and white what is believed about it as a social process, a way by which a democratic society gets much of its business done. As principles, we suggest:

1. Social conflict is here to stay. So far as we can see, it is implicit in the democratic process. The consent of the governed is a basic principle of our life, yet when one group of citizens will not consent, intergroup conflict is the rule. Law regulates this conflict, defines conditions under which it is legitimate. This is the way we, the people, appear to want it. Were conflict brought to an absolute end, our losses would be considerable. We will have sacrificed a birthright—the right to differ, to take a stand—for a mess of pottage.

2. There is probably no deterrent to conflict as effective as conflict itself. We have heard school heads, steady men, say that what their towns needed was a good scrap, a rousement of people. What was meant is that things long simmering should be brought to a boil. The need is for a clean-cut issue so that sides can form, the

¹³ Donald B. Straus, "Laws Won't Stop Strikes," *Harper's Magazine*, 205:21-27, 1952.

lethargic public be stirred up, made to think. If the ensuing struggle for and against proves of worth, if it gets results that are judged good, then one might suppose that this way of settling differences will continue. If, per contra, conflict is waste, it should in time give way to other processes.

3. It is our opinion that, in the long run, discussional ways of resolving issues will lead to more settlements and more just settlements than will either a test of power or the application of law. This is, it seems to us, the main point made by the government mediator quoted earlier. In labor-management relations, mediation is not as now organized a final solution to contract changes and renewals. It is regarded by disputants as a *pro forma* procedure. We believe, to repeat, that this is a shortsighted view, one harmful to public interests. After court orders have run their course, after the shouting and table pounding are over, *it is discussion only which will lead to an agreement*. Knowing this, are all the preliminaries necessary? While this question is complex, we are tempted to suggest that all disputants get as soon as possible to the state of mind where fair bargaining is effective.

4. By the very nature of our democratic life, all such settlements of issues are tentative. Here today or there tomorrow, they will be up again. This side will seek to push a gain further, the other side to hedge a loss. New causes will arise, new movements break out. All things considered, we must as teachers learn to live in and with conflict, to treat it as normal. If, in passing a zoo, one sees a giraffe for the first time, that animal may seem not only strange and exotic but frightening. Seen every day, it becomes a part of the landscape. So with legalized, group conflict. This is the kind of people we are, "muckin' along," as the British are said to do. Whipple makes this point much clearer than we could do:

The Englishman is a psychic entity; he does not surrender his personality to any social idol—church, or state, or king. Yet he can compromise enough, grumbling loudly all the while, to get along in society and to save his institutions from anarchy. He seems to be our most practical social animal; and his dual nature, facing both toward personality and society, makes him the very pattern of civil liberties.¹⁴

5. Finally, to hold that the clash of groups and interests is normal does not mean that society's efforts to control it, to see that

¹⁴ Leon Whipple, *Our Ancient Liberties*, p. 18, II. W. Wilson, 1927.

justice is done, should slack off. On the contrary, control methods should grow apace with conflict. A nation can exist only, in last analysis, in unity, in faith, in fair dealings. It is here that all control agencies, including schools, come on the firing line. It is here that community educators meet their most severe test. It takes skill to do academic teaching, to make bookish ideas come alive. But it takes even greater skill, to say nothing of courage, to face conflict as a fact, to turn the energies it releases into creative channels, to move forward toward ideals.

It is not likely that all the detail in these five points will meet with full acceptance by anyone. Of most concern to us is the idea of keeping balance, of letting our normal senses work. We must appreciate the field of forces in which all life is cast, the struggle about which Darwin wrote. Our society could not be the democratic society it is without competition and conflict. We want them to continue but under legal and other controls. Like the average man, we want cooperation and unity, want them when we need them, when some common problem must be solved. But we do not want any more of them than we have to have. The more of individuality, of freedom in thought and action, the better from our standpoint. This is the substance of what we have tried to say.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. In the pupil transfer case, how would you have gone about solving the problem of overcrowding in School A? Be as specific as you can.
2. If Negroes begin to move into an area where whites live, what should whites do? Read a case like this, Henry Kraus, *In the City Was a Garden: A Housing Project Chronicle*, Renaissance Press, 1951.
3. Have you ever gone on a study tour in this country or abroad? If so, did you learn more about people from what you saw or from how members of your party behaved? Discuss this.
4. If your professor agrees, report to class on a very novel survey, a polling in a Florida county to see whether a Negro, who was charged with rape, could be given a fair jury trial. See an account of this by J. L. Woodward, in the *American Sociological Review*, 17: 447-452, 1952. Are such poll data admissible in court?
5. Have you seen the French film *Passion for Life*? It shows what happens when new ideas (old to you) in education hit an isolated French town. While we do not rate this movie too high, it might be worth securing from Brandon Films, 200 W. 5th St., New York.

6. Under each of the following headings, list all the specific skills which you feel an ideal group teacher-leader should possess:

Study-action Skills

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Sizing up a situation | 4. Group maintenance |
| 2. Basic study, diagnosis | 5. Conflict resolution |
| 3. Organizing group action | 6. Assessment of results |

7. How are labor-union leaders trained in the techniques of group work and conflict resolution? A good manual is A. A. Liveright, *Union Leadership: A Handbook of Tools and Techniques*, Harper, 1951.

8. To see how an average school-community issue gets into courts and is argued before the U.S. Supreme Court; read Vashti Cromwell McCollum, *One Woman's Fight*, Doubleday, 1951, the so-called "McCollum case."

9. If your thought is clear enough and your class atmosphere permissive enough, tell frankly what you feel about our "teaching religion" case. We do not argue with our students on this but try only to assist them in whatever view they want to express.

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CHAPTER 13

Educating via Vicarious Experience

The world in places is better faced with "illusion" than with reality, since some illusions are healthy, for example the unproven feeling that life is worth living, that effort is not futile, that kindness and love are good. . . . There is much to say for nonlogical living, and it may be that mental health disappears when a man becomes too rational.

—ABRAHAM MYERSON

Words, if one will think about them, are rather feeble. They are better as tools of thought than as thought transmitters. Detach key terms from experience, abstract them from concretions, and communicators face trouble. While we know of no true escape from this, it is here that "illusions" enter. The difference is a lecture or a reading on, say, the alcoholic, in comparison with seeing the play or movie *Come Back, Little Sheba*. Our meaning here is clear or it is not, and that is the dilemma which has always faced the trafficker in imagery. It is really too bad that the scientist is at war with human emotions, that he feels he must make war on them.

Students will know what is to be discussed if we say that this is a chapter in audio-visual education. Here are the movies and comics, radio and television, novels, school bulletin boards, and whatnot. We shall not follow any well-charted path but simply jump about, looking at some promising ways of teaching intergroup relations, along with some confusing issues.

CASES, SCHOOL INCIDENTS

Since we are searching for bluebirds, we might as well begin with a zany case, the first one in our files. The writer is the teacher in this grade school.

Ish Swallows a Quarter!

In our small Kansas town, we had only three Negro families. One of them, the Clay family, had come from the South to work on the Dow estate. Mr. Clay was a handy man on this estate, and Mrs. Clay was a cook.

One of three Clay children, a boy called "Ish," was in my third grade. He was small for his age, undernourished, with an IQ of 82. He was new at the Horner School and he did not do well. Children picked on him, including Perry, his brother, and he was made the butt of many prankish jokes.

The event I want to tell about took place on a Tuesday morning, our regular bank day in the Horner School. All my children but Ish came with at least one coin in their pocket, their deposit for the week. Ish came late, tears running down his face. "Oh! Oh! Oh!" he kept screaming, "I've swallowed it, I've swallowed it!" "Oh gee, gee oh," he said as soon as he could talk. "I've swallowed my quarter," and he grabbed his stomach as if in deadly pain. Feeling he was in pain, I set him on a chair and sent for the teacher who serves as the school nurse.

The nurse came on the run, put her arm around Ish, and took him to her treatment room. I tried to go on with "banking," but this was impossible. All the third-graders wanted to know what was the matter with Ish. When I explained, talk started. What would happen now? Would Ish die? Would he swell up and choke to death? There was no quieting the children, and two girls began to cry. A state of near hysteria was precipitated by a little toughie who announced, without a qualm, that "Ish would be cut open, cut all up." Concerned myself, I sent a pupil to ask about Ish. On his return, he said that "Ish didn't hurt no more," that the nurse had given him some medicine and sent him home.

Next morning, Ish showed up. He was late and the room was at work. At once the kids began to buzz. I stopped everything to hear the news, and Ish was grinning from ear to ear, beaming on everyone. "It come out," he said. "It come right out, like the nurse said." A sigh of relief went up from the class and children began to crowd about the boy, asking him questions. They touched him, patted him on the head, looked into his mouth and down his throat. I spoke three times before they quieted down and returned to their seats. They had never heard of such a miracle, a boy who swallowed a quarter and lived!

This was by no means the end of the case. That recess, the children again swarmed about Ish. The news had spread and they were joined by other grades. Even at the bell, they were reluctant to let their hero go. I noticed any number of contrived trips past our open room door, pupils who had missed the show at recess and wanted a peep at Ish.

From that day on, Ish was a marked man. For one thing, he became Clay or "Ol' Clay," a familiar to everyone. Whereas he had had no sex appeal, a number of little girls began to make eyes at him. He was taken into three boy gangs and was dropped, I think, about as promptly from two of them. To this day, a full month after the incident, to shake the hand that has shaken Ish's hand is a signal honor in the lower grades.

Oh, yes, I almost forgot. Two pupils have tried to swallow coins, one coin a half dollar, leading the principal to send out a five-bell alarm. We don't know where this crazy thing may finally end, but long live the present king!

Ish was a nobody until he swallowed the quarter, after which his Hooper rating shot sky high. He was regarded with awe, treated with worshipful affection. The boy played up his hero role, dramatizing over and over his grand adventure. Some children took up coin swallowing, as was to be expected. This fad soon blew over, no doubt, and the pupils were off on some other tangent.

What the case shows is the phenomenon of *projection*, the ability to put oneself in another's place, to take his role. This is, we believe, the basis of all vicarious experiencing. As for intergroup relations, we doubt if much of any change in attitudes is indicated. Humans, young and old, have a marked capacity to create a mental category called the "exceptional person." They admit this person is unusual, even likeable, yet they do not alter their general viewpoint toward a race, a creed, or a nationality.

We Write a School Textbook

On completing a study unit, my fifth grade began its usual search. What to work on next, what to study now? As the pupils talked, someone remembered that we had agreed some time ago to study "human relations." Everybody liked this topic, and everybody had ideas as to which human relations were most important. Of course, these ideas covered the universe, so that we had a "cutting down" job to do. How do fifth-grade boys treat other fifth-grade boys? How do they act toward girls? How do fifth-grade girls behave? What about parents, or parents in relation to children? What about other adults—the candy man who keeps a corner store, the policeman who watches the High Street crossing, Mr. Lucca, our favorite school janitor.

These children, I should say, have had experience in group-work teaching methods. They can break rather quickly into work teams, each with its own center of interest. Their tendency is to follow a set routine, and I was hopeful that we might try something different. My idea was

that we should show one another what human relations were, and what they should be, *by acting out the life about us*.

One group had decided to work on home relations. Where do these relations go on? At first the children said, "Why, everywhere, all day long." But as we talked, it became clear that some times were more important than other times, for example, getting off to school, mealtimes, bedtimes, etc. At mealtimes, how do parents talk to children? How do children reply? What do people do, how do they behave? When there is a guest for dinner, what then? At first, the class thought it knew all the answers, and then, as contradictions arose, it seemed best to study our homes for a week, to make notes on what took place.

Other study groups went through this same experience—feeling that they knew, then becoming uncertain, then deciding to search for facts. More to motivate this hunt than anything else, we agreed to write down our experiences, to write a fifth-grade textbook on human relations. It was to be an illustrated book, with drawings by the children and perhaps some photographs.

The class did write this book, *All about Us*, a title we borrowed from somewhere, and it came to over 70 pages after I had it typed up. It took a month to do the project, but none of that was wasted time.

An interesting feature of the book was the pictures that children drew. Mary M., a stiff little girl, made her human figures in the same way. "Towney," a quarrelsome lad whose parents did not get along, ran to conflict in his picture themes. James, caretaker of our classroom pets, had some kind of animal in every picture he drew. Mary J. as friendly as a much-loved child can be, had happy people in her drawings, "people doing things." Ellen, whose mother was bad sick, had a mother image in most scenes. I have had no special training in analyzing children's drawings, but I am certain that these projections mean a great deal.

Another feature of this project was the use of sociodrama in what some psychologist has called the "confused story technique." I shall illustrate from a chapter which the children called "Street Relations." The incident selected was one of several sociodramas.

A Policeman and a Crook

The scene is midnight along a business street. We see a "policeman" on patrol, looking in windows, trying doors. But he is not dressed as an officer of the law. He wears an old sweater, his cap is pulled down over his face, and he slouches along, looking behind and around. Seeing a light in the rear of a store, he takes out a passkey and enters the front door. He sees a man, dressed as a policeman, who is robbing a safe. He tells the man he is going to arrest him, takes him by the arm, and a scuffle ensues. The man runs up a stairway, and the "policeman" phones his

minister to come to his aid. The minister comes, the "robber" is captured and taken to a church, where the choir hears the case.

While this story goes on, enough has been said to illustrate the technique. The idea is to confuse a story, any kind of story about human relations, and then ask the pupils to set details straight. Children are, in a sense, provoked to talk and their spontaneity is very great.

Mr. Lucca, as was said, cleaned our room. He was a kind and genial man, a favorite of us all. When we gave our class play, "People Who Have Helped Us," our friend received the very first invitation to attend. In his Old World way, he wrote the children a letter. He expressed regret that he could not come, since the play was to be given during his work hours. At this, the children sent a letter to our principal, telling him how much they wanted Mr. Lucca to attend. They offered to clean up afterward, saving their friend "a lot" of time. He did come, dressed in his Sunday suit, an evidence of friendship which pleased us very much.

It is from stuff like this that good teaching springs, backing the enthusiasms of children, imagining their imaginations, fitting in with their aspirations. To say that little folks are little brings from adults a mild "Uh, huh, quite true." They may never quite take its meaning in. Interests blow hot and cold. Now a child is on the track, now no one knows where. Concepts develop slowly and how to teach meanings, to make abstractions live, is a prime teacher concern. Imaginative projections are good teaching procedures.

The case given stresses dramatizations via plays and drawings, a technique of vicarious experiencing as old perhaps as Adam. It is a favorite of teachers from kindergarten through the grades. Why we stop it, or nearly stop it, at the high school level and disdain it in college classes has long puzzled us. Subjects at any age, even adults in community settings, are selective in thematic conceptions, in depicting scenes and characters. One needs only to learn to read the signs to realize that they reveal their deep concerns. Analysis of this type of product has become a skilled art, having a tremendous literature of its own.¹

We have heard a lot about the use of classroom films, as well we may. Instead of going into this, let us look at the corner movie, the commercial show.

¹ An interest example is A. Davidson and J. Fay, *Phantasy in Childhood*, Philosophical Library, 1953. Conventional texts are Wittich and Schuller, *Audiovisual Materials*, Harper, 1953, and Edgar Dale, *Audiovisual Education*, Dryden, 1946.

Using the Neighborhood Movie

Boys and girls of school age attend movies regularly, some as often as three times a week. All kinds of learnings go on, and teachers cannot afford to neglect so vital an experience. Teachers use classroom films, rightly so, but do they use the unbroken run of commercial movies? Our impressions are that most of us neglect the neighborhood movie or else destroy its values by improper handling. One must, of course, have seen any film he plans to use, and most local movie theaters will keep you posted as to their coming bill of fare.

Two films have appeared lately in our neighborhood theater, each a film of some distinction. One is *Crossfire*, the other is *Gentleman's Agreement*. To a teacher, I would give this advice. After students have had a chance to see such shows as these, say, on the second or third day of the run, ask them what good movies they have seen lately. They may name the current film or they may not. If they do not, ask directly if anyone has seen it. And then, "Did you like it? Why, or why not?"

Usually that is all that is necessary to launch a good discussion. At times it isn't, so that you must do more. A review by a bright student enables other students to participate, even though they have not seen the film. Or a plan can be made for someone to take it in and then report. Discussion should be kept to specifics, after which generalizations can be made.

To pose a problem for discussion, tell a little about a single incident. In *Gentleman's Agreement*, Phil, a writer, is given an assignment. He is to do a series of articles for a newspaper on anti-Semitism. He reads some books, does some thinking, but he cannot get an angle for his story. He writes letters of application to clubs, colleges, etc., with one signed by a Jewish name, the other by a Gentile name, if such a distinction can be made. Tell other things Phil did, and then ask the class to comment on his actions. Would students have done these things? What approach would they have made?

A word of caution. Students cannot be pushed. If they do not respond freely, feel an interest, do not try to force them. Tell them an incident in the story, then ask a question. A free and relaxed atmosphere must be kept.

To return to Phil, tell about the scene in which he is discouraged, feels that he must give up the assignment. He tells his mother that he cannot go on. Do you remember why? Give students a chance to recall, but if they do not, help them over the hump. Phil says, "I can't write it because I've never felt it." Felt what? Don't exhort students to put themselves in Phil's place. Give them specific data into which to project, life situations to which they can react.

Any good film will abound in such situations. Recall Phil's breakfast conversation with his small son. The topic is hate, why some people hate. Did Phil give Tommy a satisfactory explanation? If you were Phil, what would you have said about anti-Semitism? Or take it from another angle, was Tommy wise to have asked his father about Jews? Is it better not to talk about our intergroup relations, to let sleeping dogs lie? What kind of people are the Jews you have known? Are they like your own relatives, some good, some bad, all shapes and kinds?

To go on with questions, were there persons in the film whose ideas differed from Phil's? Let the class name these people and take a look at their attitudes and backgrounds. Were Dave, Miss Wales, Dr. Lieberman, alike in their views and values? By what kind of living, what lifetime experience, do you imagine each individual had come to his present outlook? Were Kathy and Phil's mother like the persons just named? How does an average American develop his point of view about majority-minority group relations? How have you developed your views? Would it be fun to write a history of your life, your experiences with other people?

This case was written by an assistant principal of a New York City junior high school. Its point is plain enough, namely, to call attention to a neglected educational resource, the *neighborhood movie*, and to give suggestions on its use. The full account describes what is done in the writer's school. The program there includes all the usual audio-visual aids and materials, plus much more. Students give plays to school and community audiences, and over the school radio. The school sponsors attendance at Broadway shows and gives prizes for stage and movie reviews. A group of teachers is engaged in a study of wartime uses of movies in troop training and the like, searching for data of use to the school.

The next case deals with *news*, the kind of print material which excites people, makes them talk. Aside from details as to method, its significance lies in a very curious fact. Most people—grade and high school students notably—tend to see life as a dichotomy. There is good, there is evil, and never the twain shall meet. Every righteous person should take his turn at chasing the devil around the stump. But here a teacher sees things differently, in terms of "middlin' grays."

The Marginal News Case

In our high school, we have tried several kinds of subject-matter combinations, several "core patterns" to use a handy term. The case I shall write about took place in a basic English and American history core. The

point to be stressed is the marginal news event and the uses to which it can be put.

In our unit on "How to Read a Newspaper," we had collected local and other papers and made a study of them: the front page, editorial page, sports, fashions, and ads. After this, we analyzed writing style, then turned to newspaper history, to see how the modern press has evolved. This led us back to the first American newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter*; then through the journals of opinion, for instance, Greeley's old, thundering *Tribune*; then to Bennett's *Sun*, the first paper to print the news; on into the Hearst and Pulitzer "yellow press"; and finally to the modern metropolitan daily, a compendium of many papers rolled into one.

In these studies of the press, I had noticed that students responded to the pull of human-interest stories, that they began to take sides on the issues stated. For instance, I remember a story headed "Child Neglect Jails Couple." The article told about a man and his wife, Negroes, who had left their four children, aged three to seven years, and gone to a beer tavern to celebrate. The children were alone and the house caught on fire. Neighbors broke in and rescued them. After this, they filed a complaint against the couple. These parents were tried on a neglect charge and given 60-day jail terms. One day, when students were supposed to be clipping articles, I found them in a huddle over this case. An argument had arisen not over these two parents but over whether "Negroes were like that."

After this, I let nature take its course, simply listening in. Most discussions were clear pro-con affairs, snap judgments, with little or no supporting evidence. It was here that I got the idea of the project I shall now tell about.

In order to develop communication skills, the class agreed to (1) clip human-interest content articles, and (2) write a class letter to the principal characters named. In the above court case, the letter went to a local judge, praising him for his action. In another case, a feature story about driver-training classes in four Detroit high schools, the letter went to the superintendent of schools. Some weeks went by without my paying any particular attention to these class letters, and then I woke up. I studied copies of all our letters, and every one was a praise letter or a blame letter. How could this be? Was every case that clear, leaving no room for doubt? On talking with the class, it came out that marginal cases were not being clipped or, if clipped, were being "filed" away, for students had no interest in them.

This was the way things stood when I tried to show students that we were missing a big bet. In May, 1952, a Washington story gave me a break. By United States Supreme Court decision, states and cities were

forbidden to censor motion pictures on the ground that they were sacrilegious, thus reversing a New York State ruling which had barred the Italian movie *The Miracle*. When we discussed the issues in this case, a few strongly disagreed. When they moved to throw the case out, to file it away, I made a little speech on the significance of marginal news. I related this type of news to public opinion, pointing out that public opinion is always fluid, that such news marked the process of change.

I suggested that we prize these marginal events, dig into their history, learn all we could. If we did not understand the issues, why not write a letter to the main parties in the case, ask them in all respect for a statement of their personal views? The letter would state, of course, who we were, why we wanted the information, and the use to be made of it in clearing up class thought.

We addressed our first letter of inquiry to the United States Supreme Court, and it was turned over, we guess, to a newspaper reporter. He published our letter, along with his explanation of issues, and sent us a marked copy. Still not satisfied about this case, we wrote to six national organizations: the Catholic Social Action group, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, the NAACP, and the American Civil Liberties Union. We had a personal letter from each of these sources, usually the legal department, and we were flooded with material from them. In one case, the organization offered to send a representative at its own expense to talk with us.

Our experience shows that the doubtful case, the "middlin' gray" case, has an educational value far greater than does the clear case. It leads to a more animated class discussion, hence to more study and thought. It brings more replies to our letters, and replies are far less formal. I have been amazed at the time important people take to write us, to explain their views on public issues and events.

The marginal case is indeed important. In all manner of scholarly work, it is regarded as a challenge to existing schema, perhaps the start of a new orientation or classification. This teacher found in marginal news events provocative situations. Student views were not immediately clear but, rather, caught in tangles which had to be worked out. Such conditions generate feelings which lead, in turn, to critical thought. Of course, replies to student letters are likely to be partisan, but that has never seemed to us anything much to worry over. Letters should be judged on their merits, much as one would handle any kind of advocacy material, any propaganda output.

We have said at various times that education is risky business, that its risks increase as its realism deepens. This can be illustrated in a score of ways, if any concretion at all is necessary.

Casting a Senior Class Play

When the call went out for tryouts, 22 young would-be Thespians showed up. Fourteen were girls, 8 were boys. Ten were white and 12 were Negro, a representative ratio in our small mixed high school. I was in charge of coaching the play, so was to cast the parts. The play chosen by a student-faculty committee was a popular comedy with the usual romantic leads. I spent two hours that day listening to readings, making suggestions now and then. Without announcing any decision as to parts, I called a meeting for the next afternoon.

At this meeting, I discussed the theme of the play, interpreted main characters, and ran through some lines. "We all agree," I said, "that lead roles should go to students with the best acting ability. Right?" No response. I repeated what I had said, ending again with a question.

"I agree," said Stella, a Negro girl.

"I don't agree with Stella," said Linda, a white girl. "That might mean that colored and white will be in the same family, making love and all of that. That would never do, I think."

"No," said another girl, Janet, "that would never do. We have to think of our audience. Would people stand that?"

It was clear that we were in for trouble, a situation not unexpected in an interracial school. Stella made her point again, arguing for a type of casting which ignored race. "Everybody says that no Negro can get a good part, that no Negro ever has, and I think it is time to stop this kind of talk. I know my parents are not going to stand for it."

"Maybe this problem is too much for us," I said. "Shall we invite others to help us?" to which the group agreed.

I went at once to the principal and laid the problem before him. He said at first that every senior play had been a headache, that we should cancel this one and quit. After pacing back and forth a while, he said no, we should go ahead. He suggested a committee of white and Negro parents and students which would meet with the 22 boys and girls and try to reach an understanding with them. He gave me some names, including the president of the senior class, and I was to dig up the rest.

At my next meeting with the Thespians, I informed them of this action, adding that the committee wanted to meet together once and then meet, on the coming Friday, with them. This was all right with them and I was about to adjourn the meeting when a white student, Tom, said he had a solution to our problem. "Why not," he asked, "give two one-act plays, one by colored seniors, one by white seniors?"

Carolyn, a Negro, said she did not like that. After talking a little, the whole group agreed. Carolyn then proposed that we get another play. I spoke on this, saying that any play we would want would have the same romantic leads, the same man-woman, boy-girl, situations.

Someone then suggested that we change the play, rewrite some lines, and I explained about copyright.

Well, to go on. The school committee was appointed, mostly by telephone. I explained that our situation was an emergency, one on which the school needed immediate help, and no one whom I reached by phone declined. The committee met that Thursday evening at school. It consisted of four students, two white and two Negro, and four parents, two white and two Negro, and the school principal, white. I served as committee convener and chairman but I had no vote.

I presented the problem frankly, not knowing what reactions to expect. I liked the way the discussion went, everyone considerate of feelings and the like. One committee member, a Negro minister, said he was very unhappy at seeing Negroes on the stage and in movies. They were almost always cast as menials, clowns, and villains, which did the race no good. These parts, he felt, were necessary if life were to be portrayed, yet no race had any monopoly on them. They should be played by persons who could play them best, whatever their skin color might be.

This speech brought applause. Hard on its heels, another committee member said that the same should be done with lead roles. This would have the virtue of consistency, and it would call out the best talent in the school. After brief discussion, a motion was made to disregard race in casting the senior play. The motion was seconded and passed with two members not voting.

On the following Friday, three committee members met with my actor group. One was a white student, president of the senior class; and two were parents, one white, one Negro. The student spoke first. He reviewed committee thinking, read the motion that had been passed, and then spoke with great sincerity about a fair deal for everyone. Each parent extended what the student had said, speaking mainly of their personal experiences with race. It was Tom, a leading member of our group, who moved to accept the committee report. Carolyn seconded, and the motion was approved without a dissenting vote.

This case calls attention to extraclass issues in mixed schools—graduation exercises, class plays, school rallies, ceremonials, and so on. In this instance, school officials had probably anticipated more community opposition to just action than was manifested, though the risk of bitter conflict was clearly present. The full report goes on to say that the senior play was cast, with one lead going to

a white boy and the other to a very talented Negro girl. Names were printed on the program in the usual way, and the play was given twice to packed auditoriums. No opposition developed, no protest was made.

COLLEGE USES OF FICTION

"I recall," writes Park about one of his professors at the University of Strasbourg, "that he, in concluding his lectures, referred us, not to a treatise, but to a novel, *Der Bitner Bauer*, which I bought and read. It suggested an idea from which I have ever since profited, the value of fiction in giving students a more realistic view of life."²

We have questionnaired 102 professors in 20 colleges on their use of fiction in their classes. About a third were in education, a full third in sociology, and the remainder were scattered. Over half made no use of fiction, and of these a number said outright that the idea was absurd, that they were scientists. Of those left, 22 responded to our letter by writing brief reports on their fiction use. Excerpts from four of these statements are all that space permits.

Social Class

I have no set way of using fiction. Social fiction is used in my sociology courses as it is needed to open up a unit for study, relieve the strain of technical reading, follow up a unit we have discussed.

Fiction personalizes human relations as science does not, in fact, does not try to do, for science cares little about the concrete. It abstracts and generalizes, and therein lies its value. I would not trust fiction as a guide to living, fiction alone. I depend upon science and experience to tell me if fiction is true, or the kind and degree of truth in it.

For example, we teach students a lot about social class. A novel I like is Morley's *Kitty Foyle*. Kitty was shanty Irish and quite a gal. She fell in love with Wyn Strafford III, as aristocratic as all hell. If students want to know about the subtleties of stratification, stuff they never get in a college text, let them read this account.

I like also Marquand's books, especially his *Late George Apley* and *H. M. Pulham, Esquire*. Marquand is more of a reporter than a dramatist; at any rate, knowing Boston and vicinity, I'd say that he sticks pretty well to facts.

² Robert, E. Park, "Methods of Teaching: Impressions and a Verdict," *Social Forces*, 20: 36-46, 1941.

The next writer is a professor of religious education. Greene's mysticism appeals to him, though no short quote can show the meaning he gives to it.

Religious Experiences

I never cared much for Graham Greene's novels up to his current book, *The End of the Affair*. I had thought this might be just another love affair until I read it, read it twice. It is a novel for adults, adults in search of a faith. The first ten pages are fascinating, having the intensity of an Ibsen play. You are held from the start, and there is no letup as the story unfolds.

In all of Greene's later books, the religious element has been dominant. They are, ostensibly, Catholic novels, though I have heard Catholics condemn them. To my way of thinking, they develop situations with which any church is powerless to cope. As some reviewer has said, and I think I have it right, "The church is not only powerless to help the individual, but it is bound to condemn him. The only function left the church, since it cannot offer salvation, is to define sin and to overwhelm the sinner with the knowledge that damnation is what he has chosen."

In the *Affair*, Greene tells of a different kind of tale. What might be called his antireligion, his misgivings and doubts, have pretty well disappeared though he is still not as positive as I would like. He does not shape a sordid, conventional tale. God forbid! Greene treats of mysticism, the miraculous and supernatural, subjects that have long since passed out of student thought, the thought of every nine college students out of ten.

Maurice Bendrix, an author, is the narrator of the *Affair*. This man meets the husband of the woman with whom he has had a brief, unsatisfactory affair. The husband has come to doubt his wife and plans to hire a detective to watch her. The author, Bendrix, humiliated by the thought that she has found another lover, hires the detective himself. Day by day, this man's reports on the woman's actions are turned in, and day by day the author's comprehension grows and deepens.

What this story shows, as scene after scene flits by, is the barrenness of these three lives, the emptiness which surrounds them, the emotional starvation in which they exist. There is not, in any of them, spirituality, hope, grace, charity—nothing that builds character, that makes a man a man. But as the action moves on, an extraordinary enrichment of personality takes place. The woman escapes the dingy half life she has been leading, the backstairs' sensual pleasures and front-door self-seeking. The author, expecting to uncover a petty sex adventure, finds himself faced by a saint, a *saint's understanding and love of sinners*. For this saint,

this godlike figure, is the woman's lover, though I shall not spoil the story for you by explaining this.

The closing pages are, to me, extremely convincing. Greene writes boldly of the miraculous, the power of God to transform human nature. This is the age of science, and I am, to be certain, glad of that. But science does not comprehend the whole of human living, man's eternal questing for fulfillment, for peace within himself. To search for truth in the realm of the supernatural is, perhaps, no longer fashionable, but that is what I try to teach by use of this book.

The next two writings are by intergroup educators. The first is interested in community life, the second in immigrant adjustments.

Ingroupness

To students who know little or nothing of pioneering times—their hardships, unities, and the like—to students reared in cities where ingroupness is a thin veneer, how is one to teach the truth, to make truth felt? That is one thing I am trying to do, and realistic novels are a help.

In the *Earthbreakers*, Ernest Haycock writes about my own country, what was around 1845 the Oregon Territory. The novel describes a trip up the river, for a great many years a fearful venture, and the founding of Oregon City, plus a settler-made Indian war.

One character, Rice Burnett, has his doubts about settlement life. He feels, as did many old pioneers, all boxed in, unfree, chained up. Burnett favors road building, for example, but opposes the idea of gathering up children and paying a teacher to start a school. At a meeting called to discuss this latter idea, Burnett sums up his views. "This settlement," he says, "is a peculiar thing. We're all inside a circle. We have got to act alike, think alike. We've got to bend in the same direction. If anybody tries to bend against the rest, he's squeezed into shape," this latter comment being directed toward the winners on the school issue.

Presently, Burnett is on a hunt and falls through a log trap, landing in a cavern some feet below the surface of the ground. For a day and a half, he is pinned down by logs, unable to extricate himself. Search parties have been out, and at last he is found. After his rescue and recovery, he sees the other side of the picture, the ingroupness of the group. "If somebody gets lost outside the circle, everybody fights like hell to get him back. We do bad things to one another, but we hang together against things that try to kill us. We're killed in the long run, sure, but we don't ever stand alone."

We don't stand alone! Indeed, we do not. If a teacher can't bring that thought to life, give it meaning, he cannot teach community. Mostly, it takes feelings to change feelings, and that is why I use fiction.

The Dumb Polack

Richard Brook's *The Producer* will illustrate my main point. This is a story of a movie maker, a power in Hollywood, maybe in the world at large. This man left home as a boy, changed his name, lived at catch jobs until, years later, he got his big break. The part I want to tell consists of just two incidents.

In grade school, this boy, Mathew Grubow, was given an assignment to write a composition on "My Father." The more he thought about this task, about what his teacher and classmates might say if they knew the truth, the more he hated the assignment. He could not write about the "old man," a dumb Polack, illiterate, impoverished, a greenhorn, with only his first papers. So the boy wrote about a father he had never had, born an American, a college graduate, killed in World War I, dying a hero's death. I think this is significant in several ways.

In all the years of his climb to fame and fortune, Matt never visited his father or wrote to him, nor did the father communicate with Matt. Now, past middle age, the son comes for a visit. He finds to his surprise that he likes his father, that the man stands for something, that he can talk with him.

"Was it hard for you, Papa, when you came to America?"

"Not so hard," Max Grubow, Sr., said. "I am good for work. For somebody who likes work, America is not hard."

"Who was your father, Papa? Was he important? Was he somebody?"

"He was nothing, like me. He was a failure, like me. People like me, who run away and come here, we were not brave people. We did not like war, so we come here. We could not get work, so we come here. We did not like customs of old country, so we come here. And when we come, sometimes we brought with us some bad customs."

"Don't say that, Papa."

"It is true," Max Grubow said. "No, it is not hard for me, Mathew. It is hard for you. It is easier for an immigrant in America than for the son of an immigrant. They do not let us in their fancy clubs; I don't care. I am used to it from old country. They laugh at me; I do not care. It was the same over there. But for you, it is not easy. This is your country and you belong to it. You were born here. You got a right to be respected. It hurts you when you are not. No, for me, not hard. For you, hard. For your son, not so hard. But for you, very hard."

Why use fiction? Very simple. In my classes, every third student is of foreign or mixed parentage. And most of them are young Matt Grubows, Matt except for the fame and fortune angle which is pure Americana. When, I ask myself, will these kids wake up, get to know their old folks? The stuff they write about their homes! All they can hear is a foreign

accent! All they can see are greenhorn ways! They will someday make a discovery, *that character starts where the skin stops*. The trouble is their heads are full of dreams. For everyone who climbs to the top, I'd guess a thousand fail. Or when they get there, they don't find what they want. I'm Scotch enough to count this a national waste.

Why do professors use fiction? Maybe the query is the same as asking why the earth is round. Because it is made that way, and so, in a way, are some professors. Fiction personalizes human relations. Intergroup contacts come to have an emotional quality, an intensity, much as they have in life. Fiction has the capacity of getting itself read, getting talked about in class and out. The reason is, we suppose, that readers project into it, see themselves in its mirrors. We have visited many classes, grade school to college, where crucial issues were being discussed. Under the cover of imaginary persons and situations, students voiced their own concerns, their hopes and fears. "A man is most himself," wrote Oscar Wilde, "when given a mask to hide behind."

VICARIOUS EXPERIENCING

Academic education stresses formal, factual study, the learning of subject-matter content. In group-process work, group study-action is the center, with learners banding together under teacher guidance. Community education takes students into area affairs, provides direct experiences. This form of learning, like vicarious role taking, cuts across the other forms. It is not unusual to find all these types of teaching in one and the same class.

Vicarious learning, as past cases show, is an experience *in*, a contact *with*, rather than reading *about*. Contact is with symbols of reality, with representations, which to some persons are more real than real. The form of contact is of less importance than its specificity, intensity, and morality. The role, the attitudes and actions, must be such that they can be identified with, that a viewer can see himself yet not be exposed to others, put on defense. We imagine that television might do this best, along with "three-D movies." Self-insight occurs to the extent that one can look at himself in a kind of double mirror, *i.e.*, as subject and object of attention.

To understand what has been said, a student should study communication. By this is meant a social act, not a physical event. If,

as Park once said, one is walking along a street and a brick falls on his head, that is a physical fact. But if, on looking up, he sees a mischievous boy, being hit with a brick becomes a social fact. The incident changes character when seen in terms of *intent*.

It is in social interaction, rather than in mere perception, that we learn, that deeper feelings and meanings get exchanged. For anyone to argue that he sees things as they are suggests that he is overlooking some well-known facts. We see things as we are, as we have learned to see them. Culture conditions values, which in turn get emotions attached to them, which in turn guide perceptions. What we look for is meaning, intention, and motivation.

The point just made is well illustrated by dramatists who, in writing a play, tell first what characters say, how they move, their gestures, after which they write in a paralleling column what these things are supposed to mean. Very often in life, as on stage and screen, meanings are implied rather than verbalized, a conversation of gestures. For instance, one can use the word "so" to mean several different things. It can be said with such inflection as to connote "*So*, that's what happened"; or "*Is that so?*"; or, simply, "*Go on, tell me more.*"

SCHOOL USE OF MASS MEDIA

There are no rules to tell a teacher in advance the effects of a film, a novel, a musical, a sociodrama, and so forth. Where such rules are given as in "do-this-or-do-that" manuals, it is plain to see that writers go beyond their data. They base their thought on experiences, mostly their own autobiography, rather than on research. Their writings may be full of insight, hence of much use in value, but in general they do not cover the variables to be found in specific teaching situations. The communications research of Berelson, Hovland, and Lazarsfeld offers much of interest to teachers, and the Payne Fund studies of movies are still good.³

A score or so universities collect and rent out American and foreign films, film strips, recordings, and exhibits. An example is the Communications Materials Center at Columbia University. A current catalogue shows about 300 classroom prints. Under Intergroup Relations, there are a number of films which have been used

³ A summary of Payne Fund studies is W. W. Charters, *Motion Pictures and Youth*, Macmillan, 1933.

in College Study schools and colleges. Samples are *Our Bill of Rights*, *Our Constitution*, *Fury*, *Boundary Lines*, *Americans All*, *Toward Unity*, *One World*, and *Democracy*. Prints can be obtained through a school or college bureau or center of audio-visual education, from the state department of education, or from (usually free) various national civil-rights and good-will agencies.

It seems safe to say that resource use is much increased where a school, school system, or college has an over-all use plan. One reason for this is that good materials are hard to get, to produce or operate, and to assess. Aside from time, cost, and facilities, there are technical problems on which a specialist is needed. Where such a person, or a staff, has given full time to an audio-visual program, the venture has paid off. Aside from helping a faculty on routine matters, this specialist should keep teachers and others up to date on developments in his field. Where changes are so fast and so radical, this is no small service task.

MEETING ANTIMINORITY REMARKS

One problem that can be fitted in here is the question of what to do about antiminority remarks. By this is meant the practice of sniping at minorities, of belittling, debasing, or berating them in public. A score of articles have given advice on what to do about these comments, jokes, and the like. The work to be reported here took place in a Wayne University class. It is based in part on experimental studies by Citron⁴ and others, which should be read in the original.

Teaching Teachers to Meet Antiminority Remarks

To get thought started, the professor spoke briefly about antiminority remarks. These were viewed as any statement, joke, or pun made on contact with an outgroup member with the aim of debasing or demeaning him because of his race, creed, or national origins. Two concrete situations were presented.

Case 1. You happen to be riding in a streetcar. The car is crowded and you hang on a strap, as does the man standing beside you. A Negro [or any ethnic] gets up from his seat. He shoves his way out, causing you and the stranger to lose grip on the strap, to stumble and fall.

⁴ Abraham F. Citron *et al.*, "Anti-minority Remarks: A Problem in Action Research," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 45: 99-126, 1950.

"Well," the man says, recovering balance. "How do you like that?" As you start to reply, he adds, "But that's a damn nigger for you, the pushy ———. What can you expect? They're taking the town."

Case 2. Here is the experience of a graduate student, Jewish, a woman. "One day last week, my husband and I went house hunting. My mother-in-law came along. The house we went to look at was one of three new homes, side by side. We could see a young couple inspecting the adjoining house, and it so happened that I recognized the man. He was a student at a junior college where I had worked as secretary to the Dean.

After we had looked over the house, we decided to buy it. Seeing the couple again, I spoke to the man, and they came over to talk with us. When we said that we planned to buy the house, both of our "neighbors" looked relieved.

"Whew," the man said. "I'm certainly glad it's you people who are going to live next to us. You know, with a Jewish builder's sign out in front, we didn't know who might land beside us."

"Well," my husband said. "We're Jewish, you know."

"Oh," was the reply. "I didn't mean you. I mean foreigners, Russian Jews, and like that."

My husband then explained that his mother-in-law had come from Russia, that she was going to live with us. He added, smiling all the while, that the two families might flip a coin to see which one bought a house.

After reading these cases, the instructor turned to the class. "These are commonplace events. You may think of others as we move along. Now, what we want to do is reenact these situations. I'll take the part of the prejudiced person, or whatever he should be called. You take the other part in either of these scenes, and let's go over them. What we want to do is to see how you would try to handle the case, see what you want to do and say."

This is enough, as a rule, to start the action going. Student after student steps up and takes part. When no one can think of any new way to handle either situation, the instructor again speaks to the class. "We have seen various ways of meeting antiminority remarks. Which one do you like best?" With little or no hesitation, students make choices and state their reasons for them. Attention is likely to shift to skill training, a kind of drill in how best to use the type of answer students select.

In general, an effective answer should be short. It should be simple, easy to grasp. It should, in theory, change the prejudiced person's mind-set. Under the conditions given, we are inclined to expect only a closure effect. If bigoted pop-offs can be silenced, or if their talk can be confined to their own kind, maybe this can be

reckoned a gain. What is needed is, of course, to go into causes, into why people behave as they do. This is quite impossible under the usual hit and run circumstances.

In respect to type of answer and probable effect, Citron and others reach conclusions about as follows from their experimental work:

Answer Content, Effects

1. *No answer.* Say and do nothing, not even turn away. This appears to have no effect in restraining bigots, reducing prejudices.
2. *Flat negation.* "I don't agree," or "I don't believe," or "You're wrong there, these people are not like that." Personalizes situation, likely to start an argument.
3. *Deflate the bigot.* "Look, fellow, that guy's human! Aren't you?" Or "You've had a bad day, sure, but maybe he has too." Tends to produce counterargument, to deepen prejudice.
4. *Individual differences.* "Yeh, there are all kinds of Jews, no two alike. I guess we gotta judge them as they come, just like my own relatives." Effective in average cases.
5. *American tradition.* "That's us, that's America. A square deal, no matter what." Widely applicable, generally effective.
6. *Religious principles.* "All men are brothers," or "Do unto others . . .," or "All religions teach that . . ." Limited in use to persons who believe it, can make it convincing, and to subjects to whom it has genuine motivational appeal.
7. *Logic of the situation.* "Why, this streetcar is jammed. How can a guy help but push if he wants out?" Commonsense, situational demands. Very effective in appropriate circumstances.
8. *Personal experience.* "Now, take this case, this guy I worked with . . ." Bigot tends to counter with contrary case, creating a stalemate. Little can be proved about a people by a single case.
9. *Questioning.* "How do you know that is true?" or "Brother, you cite one fact, just one simple fact!" Not a bad technique if it is well used. Poor use produces a barrage of absurdities.
10. *Initial agreement.* "Yes, that same thing has happened to me," or "I see your point but . . ." Lowers tension but settles nothing. Speaker must return to the issue.

Students should be given drill practice in answer making. If this is done, personality variables will come to light. One student can do best at one kind of answer, another student will excel in the use of a different response. Aside from skill training, our best result has probably been to alert a class to the question of minority remarks, to deepen their desire to try to correct them.

INTERGROUP HUMOR

Another relevant problem is intergroup humor. Everyone can remember, no doubt, some person, perhaps a speaker, who told a story that set teeth on edge. Such alleged humor is widespread in the intergroup field, and it is a wonder that it has not been studied even more than it has been.

*Humor, Content Analysis*⁵

Barrow's sources were joke anthologies, admittedly selective. Unprintable tales, chiefly obscenities, are excluded; and there is a lag behind the times, omission of the latest wisecracks. Data were gathered on three groups: Negro, Jewish, and Irish; in all 734 jokes, puns, and stories.

Counting *themes*, tales about Negroes dealt in rank order with deviant behaviors, word usages, dim-wittedness, religious fervor, poverty, sex attitudes, and marital conflict. Jewish stories centered mainly on commercial and financial skills, after which came language, get-ahead striving, obnoxious traits, peculiar names, and food taboos. Jokes about the Irish stress paradoxical situations, word difficulties, Irish cleverness, alcoholism, belligerence, and improvidence.

Jokes about Negroes used *dialect* in all but 2.6 per cent of the cases. In jokes by Jews about Jews, the per cent of dialect tales was 66.8. In stories by Negroes about Negroes, dialect was found in 79.5 per cent of the total. Minority persons spoke in dialect more often than did majority storytellers. In respect to *stereotyping*, the topics most favored were Negro dialect, Jewish ingroup themes, and Irish names, notably Pat and Mike.

As to *characters*, the main body of anthology jokes was intrasexual, with the male sex predominate. Among intersexual jokes, the most typical pattern was minority male and minority female. Many jokes centered on status difference, for example, servant and master, cook (or maid) and mistress, client and lawyer, patient and doctor. In jokes about Negroes, maids and ministers were favorite characters. Among Irish characters, laborers and priests were outstanding; among Jews, businessmen such as salesmen and clothiers.

From Aristotle through Freud to the present, it has been known that humor has social functions. It is at once a form of conflict and of control. It deflates egos, and it raises the morale of those who use it. While noting the dominance of aggression in Negro-white

⁵ Milton L. Barrows, "A Content Analysis of Intergroup Humor," *American Sociological Review*, 15: 88-94, 1950.

jokes, Dollard⁶ comments that humor also serves as group self-criticism, that minority members invent and tell stories about themselves for this purpose. It might be added for perspective that not all intergroup humor is malicious, that a jokester may show liking and respect for the kinds of persons he uses in his tales, the symbols people know and laugh about.

Story Samples, Negro and White

One type of story whites tell about Negroes pokes fun at the latter because of their love for big words, which they never get straight. For example, a big revival is on at an urban Negro church. The visiting preacher and the local preacher come down the aisle, the former very pompous and dressed fit to kill. From a pew far back comes the conversation:

"Sister Jones, who am de confiscated ge'man wit de gol'-rim obstacles, speculatin' up de isle?"

"Don' you organize him, Sister? Now don' you?"

"No, I don' organize him. I ain't been induced by him, has I?"

"Now I is franchized dat you don' organize him. He am de mos' concentrated ge'man in de whole aggregation. He am de visitin' pastorate."

A type of story we like concerns, say, an old and faithful Negro servant. Mary's mistress, a white woman, was bossy, suspicious, quick to blame. One day a small wooden tub disappeared, and the servant was accused of stealing it. Mary said nothing beyond denying the theft, but the next day she didn't come to work, nor the next. Meantime, the tub had been found. Seeing Mary on the street one day, her former mistress tried to placate her. She first invited and then begged the Negro woman to return to work. Mary could not be persuaded. "Mis' Julia," she said in her quiet way. "You is white and I is black, but we's both people. From now on, Mis' Julie, we is *two* people."

The notion that Negroes lampoon whites, that their stories show whites at a disadvantage, may come to some students as a surprise. This kind of humor may be older than its white counterpart, and at times its subtlety is pronounced. Two Negro maids are talking. "At my place," one says, "I have a terrible time. All day long it's just 'Yes, ma'am,' 'Yes, ma'am' to this and that." The other maid allowed that that was nothing, nothing to worry about. "With me," she said, "it's not like that. It's 'No, sir,' 'No, sir,' 'No!'"

Some Negro humor has a macabre quality, a point illustrated in a cartoon widely printed in the Negro press after the Detroit race riot. The picture shows two small white boys looking at the hunting trophies on

⁶ John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, p. 309, Yale University Press, 1937. Also Gunnar Myrdal *et al.*, *An American Dilemma*, pp. 38-39, Harper, 1944.

the walls of their father's den. Among these prizes, there is the mounted head of a Negro. "Dad got that one last week in Detroit," one of the boys remarks.

A curious truth about humor is that it seldom jumps a color, creedal, or nationality line. It may cross over, sure, but it is not appreciated, not understood. This is so because what makes a story funny, its essence so to speak, does not come from a situation but from the sensitivities of persons, their knowledge of outgroup life. Thus a story that will amuse Jews leaves non-Jews very cold, and the reverse is true. Again, to whites who do not stereotype Negroes as chicken thieves, so-called "stealing jokes" fall flat. Unless Negroes believe that whites are mean, that they will take advantage if they can, many of their tales would be witless, to say the least.

To teachers, a caution may be in order. *Don't do it!* Don't tell a mammy story to a Negro no matter if, in your childhood, you did have a second mother. Don't say to a Jew that some of your best friends are Jews, regardless of how true this is. Beware of dialect, even in close ingroups. In sum, don't cross the line in your efforts to be funny. If you must tell a tale, tell one about yourself, one where you come off second best. Or tell about your auntie, your grandma, your college crowd. You show by your story that you were a chump, or nearly so, a fact which everyone knows is not the case, in truth, will deny. You would not, were you really so dense, admit it, so that you must, as a matter of fact, be rather smart, rather sure of yourself. But don't do as we have just done, tell tales about outgroups.

MINORITIES AND CENSORSHIP

We spoke earlier about fiction, its uses in teaching. We shall conclude with a problem that involves all literature, all art. This is the issue of censorship and minority citizen rights.

It will be remembered that during World War II freedom was a big word, a beckoning symbol. There were, as readers know, the Four Freedoms, the first of these being "freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world." The fourth freedom, the most novel then, was "freedom from fear." We learned at that time, as we must keep on learning over and over, that all freedoms are connected, that fear can destroy any and all of them.

Minorities fear that mass impression agencies, radio, press, the stage, do incalculable damage to them. These media keep alive and diffuse ideas and attitudes which threaten the securities Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and others now possess. Moreover, these media offend against good taste, and they violate common citizen rights. Members of the majority group also have their fears. They fear that our traditional liberties are at issue, that all Americans are being subjected to censorship by small interest groups.

Let us take two cases on this, the first for censorship, the second against.

"Amos 'n' Andy" and Free Speech⁷

At its annual convention, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adopted a resolution protesting the "use of humiliating stereotypes" on the "Amos 'n' Andy" show. Since this action proposed a boycott of the sponsor's product, a widely selling beer, "Amos 'n' Andy" were hit where it hurt, namely, in their profits from these radio broadcasts.

This NAACP action has many precedents. All civil-rights groups, while committed to the principle of free speech, are also pledged to protect minorities against slander and insult. There is no inconsistency in these two objectives, for the persons who control mass media must acknowledge a heavy responsibility to our society at large. They must distinguish between license and liberty. They must, in good conscience, balance their own interests against those of the nation in preserving intergroup understanding and accord.

The very fact of a minority's differences, those things which make it a minority, also make it a natural for comic treatment at a primitive level. To be specific, "Amos 'n' Andy," for the sake of laughs and ultimately for sales, have stressed the unappetizing and depressing aspects of low-class Negro life. The program relies heavily on such outlandish figures as Andy, always the finagler, the schemer; on Kingfish, Madame Queen, Calhoun, and Lightnin', all of whom lack in intelligence, morality, or energy, or in all three. Amos is an industrious and sympathetic character, though he has steadily receded into the background. The NAACP protest holds that the program tends to confirm or to create the impression that Negroes are "inferior, lazy, dumb, and dishonest." These are exactly the stereotypes that are most widespread in American society, and they must be gotten rid of.

In this case, more so than in some stage plays and some literature, the issues seem clear and simple. Factual concerns are two: the content of the

⁷ Based on Philip Baum, "Amos 'n' Andy and Free Speech," *Chicago Jewish Forum*, 10: 207-211, 1952.

"Amos 'n' Andy" scripts and their effects on millions of Americans. Manifestly, we cannot undertake a detailed study of either point. Nevertheless, when *all* the leading characters in this program depict Negroes as something less than competent and admirable, it is inconceivable that the end results will be anything other than to inflict injury on the race. This is the incontestable logic on which the NAACP case is based.

Some persons concede much of this view, yet they hold that the NAACP has acted stupidly, that it has betrayed its commitment to free speech. This argument is far from clear. The right of protest is a basic American privilege. It stems from the indisputable duty of every citizen in a democracy to attempt to influence his neighbors by discussion and persuasion. It cannot be denied that each of us has the right to express his feelings, his likes and dislikes, about any kind of public business, any radio, movie, or stage production. He can attack a concrete art product as lacking in truth, as unesthetic, as dishonest, as fraudulent; and he can ask other persons to join him in his views. This is, we submit, the basic reason for our civic organizations, for fraternities, lodges, legions, societies, associations, congresses, and so on. We are a nation of voluntary sociocivic organizations, right down to the newest book club. People join these groups in order to be effective, to make their voices heard.

"Amos 'n' Andy" is, after all, a public, commercial venture. Its aim is to make me like a certain beer *because* I like the "Amos 'n' Andy" show. I ought, I suppose, to go around persuading others to listen to the program and, out of gratitude, to consume larger quantities of beer. Now, if I try to set this chain of reasoning in reverse—if I find the program objectionable, if I tell other people not to listen—am I then a moral leper, a good citizen gone wrong? I am well within my traditional (and legal) citizen rights, even when I buy less and less of the advertised beer.

It is imperative that we strike away once and for all the lingering idea that a citizen's right to protest, to organize and boycott, violates American civil liberties. It does not. If the sponsors of "Amos 'n' Andy" are not impressed by citizen action, if they feel that their dollar diplomacy has not suffered, then they will continue the program. But if a minority can make the whole nation aware of the issue, if that minority's case is just, then good results can come. It is true that many Negroes listen to "Amos 'n' Andy," that it has become stylish to be "above" insult. No minority can defend its rights without insisting on them.

Our students feel, as we have found on test after test, that this is a very strong case. It is well reasoned and, to a number, quite convincing. The best counterargument we have found, again by student vote, is a lengthy article by John Haynes Holmes, pastor of a large New York City church and long a central figure in both the

NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union. His concern is with all mass media, but notably with literature and the stage.

Sensitivity as a Censor³

A serious situation is arising in respect to civil liberties, one that every citizen should understand. Something like an informal yet drastic censorship is appearing. It is assuming the power to dictate what shall—and shall not—be made available to the public in theaters, movies, and the like.

The case of the *Merchant of Venice* illustrates the point. Some years ago, Jewish individuals and groups began to object to the presentation of this great play on the public stage, even to its study by boys and girls in high school and college. The reason was that Shylock is a Jew, an unpleasant Jew, in fact, a magnificent villain. To exhibit this character, it is argued, is to defame all Jews. It tends to persuade the public that Jews are Shylocks. But does it, does it have this effect? Are we so stupid as a nation that we transform a single personality—fictitious at that—into a real-life general type? If so, then Italians must object to Iago in *Othello*, and Englishmen to Falstaff in *Henry IV*. In fact, we suppose that there is no nation, no people, who cannot object, in good conscience, to an array of literary characters. If this happens, if bad characters are not to be depicted as belonging to any race, any nationality, any religion, how can evil be presented in its eternal fight against good? Are we to return to the old morality plays, where persons were not persons at all but abstractions clothed in flesh?

The kind of informal censorship begun with the *Merchant of Venice*, that of vested-interest group action, has since been applied broadly. There is, for example, Dickens's *Oliver Twist*. In 1949, the English movie version of this classic was denied admission to the United States because of Jewish protests. Fagin is a Jew, a rascal to be sure, yet are all Jews going to rise up against the movie, and the novel, because of that? Why don't Englishmen rise up against Bill Sykes, by all odds a more terrible villain?

Jews are not the only people who are mistakenly sensitive. Negroes have tried many times to suppress dramatic versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, contending that any reproduction of this famous novel is a slander on the race. Just as the Negro has been emancipated from slavery, so he must—he feels—be freed from the tradition of slavery, thus distorting his own past history. To be certain, Uncle Tom has remarkable qualities—patience, forbearance, kindness, forgiveness. But these, we are told, are

³ Based on John Haynes Holmes, "Sensitivity as Censor," *Saturday Review*, 22: 9-10, 23, 29, 1949.

"passive" virtues, whereas the new Negro has dignity, courage, militancy, the elements of free manhood. From a dramatic point of view, we suppose that Uncle Tom might well be dropped, yet there still remains the question of liberty in a free society, the right of all people to see and hear and learn.

Walt Disney's *Uncle Remus* has suffered the same condemnation, but the supreme example is *The Birth of a Nation*, a screen play which marked a historic turning point in motion picture history, a new era on the screen. Yes, the material in this picture is vicious, contributing no doubt to the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. It is quite understandable that Negro groups should boycott this picture, that its revival is now impossible. But what about the principle of free speech and expression? Is the nation going to consent to the suppression of art at the bequest of a private group interest?

Other examples come to mind, for instance, the exclusion of a magazine, *The Nation*, from New York City public schools. This was done at the instigation of the Roman Catholic Church because of the Blanshard articles. The Catholic Legion of Decency, in its quiet but effective work behind the scenes in Hollywood, is another instance of what I mean by unofficial censorship.

What minorities desire, in the cases cited, is not unworthy and not unnatural. By banning all unfavorable presentations of their part in our common world, they strive to escape prejudice and discrimination. They should not, in common decency, be asked to endure our unchristian hates and fears, yet I am inclined to believe that these groups are unduly sensitive. I heard the other day that my grandson was reading the *Merchant of Venice* at school. I took pains to question him, and I found a vast enthusiasm for the play, along with no feeling against Jews. In the trial scene, my own pity is all for Jews. Time and again, as I have read this passage, I have been profoundly moved by the famous "Hath not a Jew eyes . . ." soliloquy. I consider this the noblest statement in all literature of the Jew's case against a hostile world.

No, great writers, great painters, and so on, are not anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, anti-Catholic. They are not concerned, in any spirit of evil, in creating prejudices and spreading them. They treat these particular groups just as they treat other groups, that is, the human race. People are complexes of flesh and spirit, to be presented for *what they are*, without apology or reproach. Any creative work is bound to hit some extrasensitive person, some indwelling mind. But this does not mean that the work should be banned and the worker hounded down, not if literature and free speech are to survive. And if what I have just said is not true, then we must believe that all members of a given group are saints, that evil must never be ascribed to them. Other people may err in ways that are human

but not these particular folk. The logic is that they shall have *literary immunity from the sins that beset the rest of the human race*.

We imagine that this thoughtful writing will find many persons who agree with what is said. At any rate, the stage is set. We have yet to see a college group that did not make an argument out of this. We have given our views when asked, though they have made little difference in the debate. Students know that they are expected to take any stand they want, that their ways of reasoning are of concern to us.

What, now, in these quoted materials, are we talking about? If the answer is art, great art, what it is, how it can thrive, then we are inclined to agree with the position Dr. Holmes has taken. If, however, as Mr. Baum might contend, the issue is human relations, we find ourselves on his side. Mass media do spread prejudices, at times create them. To argue for art at such a cost would be contrary to the basic aims of this entire book.

In general, educators do object to Shylock, Uncle Tom, Fagin, Remus, and so on. Their major reason, to say it again, is simply one fact piled on top another. The first fact is that such art representations are the common diet of millions of Americans, including school children. The second fact is that, in these books, plays, movies, etc., minorities are subjected to persistent humiliation, derogation, and exclusions. If these facts are put together, the conclusion is that *mass media can and do teach antiminority views*.

If a student reasons as just stated, he must then face some further issues. What limits are to be set to censorship? Who is to decide its outer bounds? Who is to protect both the artist and the public? Are none of us to see a movie just because some of us feel that it is damaging? Time and again the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled against protesting minorities. An example is the voiding in May, 1952, of a New York State court ruling which banned the Italian film, *The Miracle*, as sacrilegious, the vote being 9 to 0.

For our part, we believe that the control of mass media should be lodged, as it is lodged, in the public and the courts. Minorities will try to make a case with business interests and opinion-forming agencies. They are well within their rights in taking issues into court, in appealing them for final decision. It is to be expected that they will be opposed, that other groups will work for their own interests. We can think of no blanket formula, no equating of

rights and duties, to cover every conceivable case. The test is the struggle of viewpoints, what Milton saw as the eternal "grapple" of truth and untruth, right and wrong.

It is the business of intergroup educators, of all persons at work in social education, to see that ideas get spread, that people get informed, that issues get a fair and full hearing. It is the teacher's bounden duty to teach ways of finding facts and reasoning about them. It is his duty, we believe, to help in formulating public policy, to work for the public good as he sees it. A complex society like our own depends upon all manner of spokesmen; in fact, it has no other way in which to act, to reach decisions. As long as we are agreed on how urgent social problems are to be settled, *by discussion, the ballot, court action*, injustices can be real but not final. They are subject to review and correction.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. A hundred years ago, in 1852, our nation was reading a new best-selling novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. If you have never really studied this book, do so. Why did it have such a great appeal? How would you rate it now in reference to intergroup relations?

2. Of all the school cases in this chapter, which one do you like best? Which one the least? Tell why in both instances.

3. Put into your own words, as precisely as you can, what "vicarious experiencing" means as a teaching method. Contrast it with other instructional methods.

4. Read some article of your choice, for instance, Mabel S. Finley, "Book Approach: Experiment in Intergroup Education," *English Journal*, 38: 384-386, 1949. Write up to hand in, if your teacher approves, a detailed plan of evaluation.

5. If you would be interested in seeing behind the scenes in Hollywood, you might like the insightful study by Lillian Ross, *Picture*, Rinehart, 1952, on how a movie is made.

6. Are you a fiction addict? Here are some readings to try.

Charles Angoff, *Journey to the Dawn*. How a Jewish family from Europe was Americanized.

Francis T. Field, *McDonough*. A hard-case Irish politician. First the touch, then the build-up, then the clincher.

Graham Greene, *End of the Affair*. A subtle tale, well told, and your interpretation is as good as ours.

Arthur Miller, *Focus*. A Gentile who looks like a Jew.

- Clive Sanson, *Passion Play*. The Passion Play at Heilbrunn, Bavarian Alps; Father Muller and Maria.
- Irwin Shulberg, *Amboy Dukes*. A kid gang that murders a schoolteacher. But kids can't do that! No? Read it.
- Joe Sinclair, *Wasteland*. Psychiatry is used to cure a Jew-hating Jew. Another subtle one.
- Douglass Wallop, *Night Light*. A sticky end for Alfie Lambert, a young Negro outcast. Not a pleasant book.
- Jefferson Young, *A Good Man*. The white and black of it at Oma, Miss. Run of mine, maybe, but worth reading.

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CHAPTER 14

Teaching World Unity to Youth

Give your bayonet a twist, like so . . . That a-way, it pulls their guts out.

—OL' SARG, DRILLING TROOPS

The great overriding question is how to save man from his own destruction in the atomic age.

—ADLAI E. STEVENSON

Everyone has been at times in the position of an embarrassed parent with a very small son. "But father, rabbits can't climb trees!" "Now son, listen son," the father begins, wondering what to say. "This one did. It just had to." Faced with the great man's judgment, and still hearing the hounds yipping on bunny's heels, the little boy is satisfied. He is very glad that this particular rabbit could climb a tree.

We are in about this position now. The present chapter may not, in good logic, belong here, but it had to be here and it does fit in. To explain, the volume's focus has been on domestic issues, on our internal housekeeping. In this last chapter of Part Three, concern is with the world community. Our central aims are two: to study our national interests and to educate for peace, for order, unity, and good will. We do not regard this problem as falling outside the field of intergroup relations. On the contrary, it extends the field, gives it if possible a new dimension, a new urgency. While every step one takes is a matter of controversy, we believe the logic underlying past chapters will also apply here.

STARTING OBSERVATIONS

If one observes school efforts to teach world-mindedness, to educate for global insight and good will, if he reads educational journals and attends conferences, four impressions may arise.

The first impression is the unquestioned loyalty of the nation's schoolteachers, a rule made all the more evident by an exception now and then. The second is our stress as educators on materials, such as UN handouts, rather than on principles. The third impression is our strong distaste for theory matters, for reflecting on issues, an aversion we share with many citizens. The fourth is our faith in world-wide cooperation, a faith that we can pursue this goal without endangering our own national safety and well-being.

The point above we want to document is the third. As of 1950, Almond¹ reports a "widespread and sustained lack of public interest" in foreign affairs so far as policy goes. He traces this to values in our culture, for example, a strong interest in individual economic success; and to the structure of our society, with its unequal spread of education, power, and opportunity. The latter condition tends to produce an elite, a well-informed and attentive few. In Almond's opinion, the nation feels that these few can best thresh out policy issues. But these few have obvious shortcomings, including superficial knowledge. Since all of them are college trained, the author blames the "escapism" of the average college classroom, the unwillingness to face present puzzles. Social scientists, in particular, tend to evade the kind of thinking on which intelligent social action can be based.

Whatever one may think of these views, it seems clear to us that public apathy is lessening, that public concern is intense. With the Korean war just ended and UN and USSR tension very great, it is commonly said that we face either another world war or else a long period of crisis. Persons who would scuttle the United Nations and precipitate a war "just to get it over" have a following. Investigative committees run riot, tempers are short, charge and counter-charge fill the air. It is possible, unless we settle down to think, that we shall lose the war of ideas before it can be fought, that the enemy will sell us on his totalitarian tactics.

ALONE OR TOGETHER?

To further policy thinking, we shall present at length two conflicting points of view, two discussions of our national interest. Not that we as teachers can be foreign policy experts, not at all. That is a function for the specialist in and out of government, men like

¹ Gabriel A. Almond, *The American People and Foreign Policy*, Harcourt, Brace, 1950.

those we shall quote. And yet, a portion of the educational job is ours, and to continue to deal with *means* with little or no consideration of *ends* does not make sense. What are we educating for? Where does our national interest lie? We see no escape from these questions, as complicated as they are.

The first viewpoint below, the writing by Morgenthau, represents what has been called the "realistic school" of international relations. It is better known, perhaps, as "power politics." The view to follow, the article by Feller, is more idealistic. Kennan² has given it the heavy name of "legalistic-moralistic" approach in his lectures on diplomacy. Kennan is, like Morgenthau, a "nonmoral realist."

A Rational View of National Interest³

A little less than 40 years ago, Woodrow Wilson made a speech in which he said, "It is a perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in terms of material interest. It is not only unfair to those with whom you are dealing, but it is degrading as regards your own actions." Wilson echoed the idealistic view of his times, even as Gladstone had advanced this view some decades earlier in his debates with Disraeli. Few learned persons would be bold enough today to speak of national interest in so uncompromising terms, regardless of the nation represented. Even so, we still have to cope with this view, with a philosophy which, while recognizing national interest, defines it in a way that takes the heart out of the concept and the policies supporting it.

In American history, two policies have struggled for predominance. One prevailed during the Federalistic period, *i.e.*, the first decade of our history, and its great leader was Alexander Hamilton. The other is the opposite of this and is represented by any number of distinguished statesmen in our past. I have little sympathy with this second view, the so-called "legalistic-moralistic" view, which is to say that I believe in the Federalistic position.

The Federalistic (or realistic) view was based on three presuppositions. The first was that the interest of the United States in foreign affairs was different from the interests European nations usually pursued. Washington's Farewell Address illustrates this point, the idea that our nation was a unique experiment in government, that we must forever guard against the encroachment of traditional European ways.

² George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*, pp. 95 ff., University of Chicago Press, 1952.

³ Based on Hans J. Morgenthau, "What Is the National Interest of the United States?" *The Annals*, 282: 1-7, July, 1952. Responsibility for a condensation of this rather technical lecture is ours.

The second presupposition can be called the "isolation" of this nation, a view not to be confused with the isolationist position of the 1920's and 1930's, an abstention from active foreign policy by retreating into the "continental fortress" of the United States. With the Founding Fathers, the isolation of this country was not a gift of nature to be kept by doing nothing. It was rather the result of a foreign policy which recognized our geographic separateness, our distinctive mode of thought and culture.

The third presupposition is the most basic. In order to be immune from foreign interference, to keep from being drawn into European squabbles, our foreign policy had to be a policy of the *balance of power*. Hamilton, the two Adamses, and others recognized that our isolation was a function of the European balance of power, that only so long as these big nations were pitted against each other, unable to cross the Atlantic, were we safe from trouble of some kind.

What I have called the "legalistic-moralistic" conception takes two main forms. One form is pure isolationism, a retreat from any kind of active foreign relations. The other form is isolationism in reverse, an unlimited, world-wide interventionism when any nation is endangered, regardless of the way issues affect the concrete interests of the United States. Both forms deny my second presupposition, the intimate connection between our isolation, our real security in the Western Hemisphere, and an active policy toward other nations in the world. I repeat that, to Federalists, isolation was a means to an end, the end being the preservation of the American experiment. While the isolationists just discussed share the concern of our Founding Fathers for American preservation, they misunderstand the rationale of that concern.

The Federalists, I might add, were realists. They did not erect the issue of "isolation vs. intervention" into a great moral conflict, a clash between two abstract principles. They did not, therefore, lose sight of our interest in our own security and integrity. These were the goals of foreign policy, as well as of domestic affairs, and since World War II we have been groping toward these same fundamental objectives.

One argument against the view I hold is moral. It runs about like this: It is base and degrading for a nation to put its own interest above the interests of other nations or above the interests of humanity as a whole. From this assumption, the inference is made that a "natural harmony" exists between countries or between a country and humanity. In other words, whatever the United States does in foreign affairs, or proposes to do, is good not only for us but for the world as a whole.

This view, the moral view, not only flies in the face of history but is dangerous as well. It comes close to the chauvinism of fascism and communism, with both having advanced these idealistic pretenses. In practical politics, this view leads either to national suicide through inaction or

else to unlimited interventionism. Isolationists, who are challenged beyond endurance by some aggressor nation, find it hard to resist the feeling that we should wipe such nations from the earth. Enemy people do not believe that we are selfless, that our interest is, necessarily, their good. In sum, this view is the kind of righteousness which starts wars and turns them into crusades.

Another argument about which I want to speak runs about like this: It may have been correct that, in earlier times, the concern of a particular nation for its own safety and well-being was justifiable and necessary. But in present times, the interconnectedness of all nations is so great that no nation can stand alone. It cannot take care of its own interests without jeopardizing those interests.

This view appears quite plausible at first glance. Obviously, the technological preconditions for the development of an international community are much greater today than in any previous time. I must, however, call attention to the contrast between these technological potentials, on the one hand, and the present moral and political realities on the other hand. While this is one world in the former sense, never in history has the world been so divided politically, so polarized between great power alliances. Washington and Moscow are the centers of antagonistic political philosophies which tend to translate themselves into political religions. Each government acts upon its own conception of human nature, of society, and of rule, and the two outlooks are incompatible.

It is within the situation described, great technological progress and great moral-political separatism, that I have tried to define foreign policy. In the full light of history, our foreign policy today is what it has always been, though its concrete expressions are different. "I do not recollect any change in *policy*," wrote John Quincy Adams about his times. "but there has been a change in *circumstances*." And so with us today. Despite the changes which have taken place in the world, it is still a fact that a nation confronted by the hostile aspirations of other nations has one prime obligation—to take care of its own interest. This is not only a moral right but a moral duty, a practical necessity. If that particular nation does not take care of itself, nobody else will.

This is, we believe, a definite, understandable framework for thought and action. Its essence is simply *take care of yourself*. Take care of yourself, for if you do not, no one is likely to. Build a world outlook in terms of our internal interests; chart diplomacy in this fashion. Combine with other nations as it serves your needs and purposes, advances national well-being. Separate from them, oppose them, when circumstances dictate. In sum, no realist can afford to indulge in moral platitudes, like saving the world for democracy.

The next article, the thought of Feller, is a criticism of the philosophy just presented. Until his recent death, this writer was general counsel and director of the Legal Department of the United Nations.

World Unity, Law, and Morals⁴

Only a little while ago, all our scholars were calling for greater world unity, for strengthening collective security. Now we are told that we must look at power realities, that we must govern our foreign relations by exclusive devotion to the national interest. It is time that we take our bearings before our sense of direction is entirely lost.

There are two basic, intractable facts about international politics. First, the world consists of separate states. Each state desires to maintain its national identity, to develop its own concept of life and order. These states are most diverse in size, strength, race, economics, religion, and ideologies. They are most diverse, too, in their devotion to peace. But they are exactly the same in their adherence to the ideas of sovereignty and independence, with each state valuing these most highly. The number of sovereign states has increased in our generation, and it is likely to continue to grow for some time.

The second fact is equally clear. The spread of Western technology—especially communication, science, the destructive capabilities of modern war—has rendered every one of these states incapable of living in isolation. This is true of the largest state as well as of the smallest. Moreover, Western culture has long held a belief in progress through the planful development of human and material resources. This belief has been foundational to liberal thought, and it is now spreading over the whole world. Already it has broken through ancient incrustations to stir the ambitions and aspirations of millions of people, notably of people in the so-called “backward” areas of the world.

The United Nations, established in 1945, has been the most significant attempt in human history to reconcile these facts of sovereignty and interdependence, freedom and unity. The UN Charter was not an opiate brewed by scheming politicians. It was not the product of visionary academicians. It was drafted and adopted by the responsible representatives of the vast bulk of mankind. Its weaknesses, and they exist, are inherent in any practical design for world order in the midst of world tensions and conflicts. Regardless of UN operations, two facts should not be obscured. One is that UN, in its aims and principles, has recognized and set forth the hope of all mankind for peace and security, the betterment of life, and the fostering of human freedoms. The second fact is the

⁴ Based on A. H. Feller, “In Defense of International Law and Morality,” *The Annals*, 282: 77-83, July, 1952. Responsibility for condensation is ours.

creation of an instrument, an institution, which can operate continuously on all problems of international concern. These are, I think, substantial evidences of progress, whatever the future may hold.

Now comes the "new realism," asking that these facts and aspirations be denied or else be interpreted in such ways as to miss their implications. I find this a disturbing reflection of our world-wide unease, a symptom of these perilous times. We are told that the real trouble with our foreign policy is our reliance on the legalistic-moralistic approach. In the view of these critics, foreign policy is a struggle for power, a struggle for political advantage. Our own policy, it is claimed, has suffered from the belief that this struggle can be suppressed by the acceptance of some system of legal and moral restraints.

I do not agree with these criticisms. To begin with, it is a mystery to me why these able students of diplomacy have assumed that preoccupation with international law and moral principles is a peculiarity of American foreign policy. Most governments, and certainly a large number, have shared a similar, if not as intense and consistent, preoccupation. In November, 1951, Anthony Eden, said:

"I am more than ever convinced that the nations of the world must submit to the rule of law and abide by it. Confidence can only be created and maintained on a basis of respect for international engagements. It is therefore the duty of all nations, as indeed it is in their interest, to respect international authority and to uphold it."

All states, except those which were or are openly predatory, have professed belief in a world-wide legal order and, as a rule, have justified their actions on the basis of legal-moral principles.

I do not mean to say that all nations have always been sincere in their professions, or that international laws have not often been broken. We know, to our sorrow, that both have happened. The idea that peace can be established once and for all by the proclamation of world law is the view of enthusiastic laymen, not of experienced diplomats and scholars. These latter thinkers have stressed time and again the fragmentary, primitive character of international law, the subordinate role it can play in a world of sovereign states. They have cautioned against overambitious attempts to impose legal restraints without solving underlying economic and social problems. They can only smile wryly when they are told by the new "realists" that the modest, imperfect system of world law is now a legal "straight jacket," impeding the assertion of legitimate national interests and aspirations.

Law is, by nature, a conserving influence, tending toward stability and regularity. This has been and will continue to be its major function in foreign affairs. At the same time, it has been the concern of internationalists to reconcile this stabilizing influence with peaceful change, the

problem being to serve legitimate national interests. This is the main reason why the varied institutions clustered under the UN banner, the commissions and committees, must have a measure of flexibility.

One neo-realistic charge is that this idealistic approach is responsible for the concept of total war. It is assumed, without proof, that total war is an American invention. It stems, we are told, from moral indignation, the fact that other nations will not conform their behavior to our standards. We grow so incensed at this that we go to war with these nations, and once at war, we stop short of nothing but their annihilation. Surely, it cannot be so soon forgotten that the idea of total war, total victory, was proclaimed by Imperial Germany in World War I and then by Nazi Germany in World War II.

As I understand the neo-realists, they consider it impossible to judge the conduct of states by moral criteria. We, as a people, are said to have interests and aspirations which are more important to us than are the peacefulness and orderliness of international life. This does not, I think, do justice either to us or to other peoples. The idea of the inherent amorality of the state, as introduced by Machiavelli, is an aberration, not an immutable law of nature. For centuries, men in all walks of life have considered political communities subject to moral standards of some sort, a view still dominant in the world.

Of course, any world order must take account of the relative dispositions of power, plus the inherent limitations of law and sanctions. The administration of such order entails many compromises, many judicious adjustments, much as in domestic affairs. Here, also, laws have definite limits, and they need to be supplemented by other means of conflict control.

To my mind, the basic fault with the neo-realistic view is that it offers nothing in the place of moral principles—nothing except a return to the old-time “diplomacy” and “national interest.” What do these terms mean? Diplomacy, for instance, is merely a procedure, a series of techniques. I think it important that we train young foreign-service men in these techniques, but the heart of the matter is the question of objectives, the ends to which these means are to be put. I am not one who would decry the pursuit of national interest as small, petty, or selfish. A sound internal economy, firmness in the protection of our legitimate rights abroad, strength to ward off attack, are essential to our survival. But we cannot advance a concept of national interest in the world at large without moral terms in which to define it. There is no other way to convince other nations that our purposes are not small, petty, and selfish.

In practical terms, all of this comes down to the support of the United Nations and its related and allied organizations. I put it thus because the nations of the world have committed themselves to the Charter, with

the United States in the forefront. While the advancement of national interest, properly interpreted, must be the cardinal aim of any truly realistic foreign policy of any nation, the support of the UN is consistent with the national interest of every peace-loving state in the world. Our aim should be to achieve a better instrumentality, a surer and quicker way, of attaining UN goals.

These ideas are so clear, so linked into pattern, that no comment seems indicated. The aim in citing these readings is not, to repeat, to make foreign policy experts out of teachers. It is to show the present clash of values, to interest students in working out their own positions. They need to do this, first, as citizens and voters. Second, of more concern to us, a teacher must have some rationale for his work, some theory of why he educates for world peace and unity. Our views on this are relevant only to the extent that they provide a basis for further critical thought. We are no authority on these matters, not in any sense.

Are our national interests to be pursued by us alone or in consort with other nations? If the idea is stated so abstractly, by far the majority of educators will take the second alternative, the idea of world-wide cooperative action. Those who do not are likely to argue one point, our loss of sovereignty by making the UN an effective organization, one with powers sufficient to enforce world law. We shall oversimplify this issue in order to cut deeply, and quickly, to its heart.

Time and again in these pages, we have argued a simple yet basic point. To have freedom, a secure freedom, one must give up a lot. Freedom, as we have said, is the right to make decisions, and this cannot be done in the absence of custom and of law. This is exactly the problem the world faces. Nations have lost much of their past freedoms because, first, the world has shrunk. We are jammed together, dependent one upon another, as never before. Second, we live in a state of near anarchy, a condition where the old rules of peace and war no longer hold. By making the UN all that it can become, *we do not surrender sovereignty but rather regain some part of the sovereignty which has been lost.*

There is much support for the view just taken and, as to be expected on so complex an issue, much against it.⁵ For example, what

⁵ We have heard of only one book that develops this viewpoint in any systematic way, a volume that has just been announced. This is Norman Cousins, *Who Speaks for Man?* Macmillan, 1953. Knowing something of Mr. Cousins' views, in fact, citing some of them further along, we are inclined to recommend this book.

determines whether we get into or stay out of war? Is that decided in Washington? In Moscow, Berlin, or Tokyo? Again, the sovereign right of nations to fix their tax rates no longer exists. Taxation would seem to be conditioned by the arms race. Does the Kremlin help to set our present rate? Where is our freedom in this case? If our present position is untenable, the position of a foremost world power, what about the lesser nations of the world? Of course, there are problems here, matters which we lack the knowledge to work out. All that we can do is to file one brief, this brief, for enforceable world-wide law and order.

SOME PUZZLES TO SOLVE

Anyone who travels abroad will be asked many questions about America. It is safe to say that these queries will surprise the traveler, even hurt and irritate him. They will show a lack of understanding of us, as well as some plain facts that we must face. Let us take a sample of these questions, those asked a very forthright editor on a lecture tour of India and Pakistan. Cousins spoke mainly at universities, so that most of these questions came from students. We suggest that this list not be scanned hastily, but that the reader dwell on each issue in turn.

Questions for Americans⁶

1. Why do Americans practice race prejudice and discrimination? This is, everywhere in the East, the first question asked. There is little knowledge about our racial situation or of efforts to clear it up. Asians believe that Americans regard all nonwhites as inferior, look down on them, mistreat and exploit them. In Cousins' words, "Color has burned so deeply into Asian consciousness that economic aid, per se, is not enough to win good will."
2. Why is the United States starting on a program of colonial imperialism? This question ignores American-Filipino relations and our record in Japan. It varies in form from an unstated demand that we cease trying to restore colonies to European nations to the implication that we are attempting to "out-British the British" in the Orient.
3. How does the United States reconcile its profession of democracy with the fact that it sends arms and aid to nondemocratic rulers and regimes? College students in particular expressed disbelief in our inability to understand that, by our actions, we are endangering

⁶ Taken from Norman Cousins, "Twenty Questions," *Saturday Review*, 34: 22-23, 1951. Cousins prints many of his reactions in successive issues of the *Review*.

the freedom of free nations, for example, Pakistan, the fifth most populous country in the world.

4. Why did the United States "aggress" in Korea against the Koreans? Russia has worked this theme as hard as possible. In India and elsewhere, the basic facts about this conflict have not been aired.
5. Why doesn't the United States support the petition of Red China for UN membership, since the present communist government represents the will of the Chinese people? There has been little criticism of Red China in either the Indian or the Pakistani press. Mao's China is seen as an expression of national independence, a people's rising, rather than a part of Moscow's plan.
6. Why did the United States use the atom bomb on Japan? This question is based on two assumptions, (1) that Japan was on the point of surrender, and (2) that this was known to our leaders. At times the implication is that these bombs were dropped on Japan because they were a nonwhite people.
7. Why is there so much war talk in the United States, so much preparation for war, when Russia makes frequent declarations of peace? Another successful Soviet propaganda line, *i.e.*, the United States is trying to goad Russia into a war.
8. Isn't it true that prosperity in the United States depends on war or preparation for war? The inference is that we have a stake in maintaining a war system, that our economic life would suffer if world tensions were dissolved.
9. Why doesn't the United States have a culture of which it can be proud? Is its life anything but materialistic? Do all its authors write cheap stories of the get-rich-quick sort, of lurid adventure, crime, and sex? Has anything of lasting worth been done in literature, music, and art?
10. What is being done to bring the rule of law to the American West? A question fostered by American movies and one that makes Americans cringe.
11. How much freedom do American women really have? The Eastern world finds it difficult to believe that the emancipation of women has reached the point it has.
12. How much pay does the average American worker get? The fact that our workers receive so much more than, say, Indian workers is not believed, nor is it believed that our per capita production is five to ten times greater.
13. Who speaks for the United States? Which speakers are foreigners to believe? Does the President represent the American people? If so, why do most newspapers oppose him most of the time? Do newspapers reflect American opinion? Is it reflected in the Voice of America propaganda broadcasts?

These are enough of Mr. Cousins' questions. They hit us where we live, hit us where it hurts. Obviously, here are tangles to work out. One thing we have done, and continue to do, is to invite foreign students to come to class. We talk there as person to person. If it is an evening course, a number of us may adjourn with them to someone's home where talk waxes warm and long.

What appears to have worried Cousins most as he traveled in the East and elsewhere was that many people didn't seem to care for us, and that others loved us but for the wrong reasons.

For example, a musical revue in Rome. The popular number was a skit, a bit of symbolism to show how Italians under Mussolini were able to depict their affection for Americans. When Cousins failed to get the point, a young Italian explained. "Why," he said, "the scene shows that we were really on your side during the war, that we preferred democracy to fascism. You saw them do the fascist salute. Then, when the officials were gone, you saw them chewing gum like Americans. You saw them making motions as though they were bouncing your Yo-yos."

Since his guest still did not catch, the Italian continued. "Surely you must know that the Yo-yo is the colored spool that climbs up and down a string." At this, Cousins remembered; he remembered all too well. "My jaw began to sag," he writes, "at the thought that this symbolism was at once recognizable by all Italians in the theater as a quick way of representing America." Disturbed at this change in his friend, the Italian made one further comment. "We think your Yo-yo is charming, though we are not quite sure we understand it."

In Japan, Cousins' experience was much the same. In Hiroshima, to illustrate, some young Japanese pointed out the city's only neon sign at that time. It served as a blinking crown for a new night club, a plush job. "It is wonderful, isn't it?" said a girl in her late teens. "It's just like the pictures we see in American magazines. In the room downstairs, they serve drinks. Upstairs, we have a dance hall. We play only American music, and we do only American dancing—jitterbug, jive, you know. It is a new day in Japan. So American, don't you think?"

From all of this, from indisputable evidence, what moral is there to draw? What one except the obvious one? Is America hot music, padded bras, fast cars, neon signs, chewing gum, chromium trim, the Yo-yo? What is this nation to the world, to the fast-changing Orient? The items named are part of us but surely not our core,

our substance. We have yet to see a thoughtful person who will not agree that a big educational job still remains to be done.

Wherever one goes abroad, he finds that he has come only half prepared. People ask questions about America, sure. But what they want really to know is how well informed the visitor is about them. What does he think about this or that, for instance, the oil question? People wish, we are certain, that Americans would do less talking about themselves, their modern plumbing, their tastes in food and whatnot. They wish we could listen more to how they feel, to what they want to tell. They wish we would try to understand them.

NATIONAL CHARACTER

Still in search of background data on which to base school and college programs, it is worth looking briefly at current studies in national character. If a student finds an interest here, there is no end to the literature he might read.

We well remember a discussion, an evening spent in search of what is wrong with Americans. The speaker was a noted foreigner, a southern European, invited to talk on our national character. He had spent, he said, a lot of time finding just the right word to tick us off. The word he wanted, he added, would be an equivalent for the three terms the philosopher, de Madariaga, had chosen to signify the ethos of the French, the Spanish, and the English.

For the French, de Madariaga's term was "*droit*," a compound of justice, order, and clarity of form. For the Spanish, "honor," a national passion with them. For the English, "fair play," a tempering of justice with mercy, a heritage of the ancient folk-moot. For Americans, what? Here was, of course, the dramatic pause, the build-up. The speaker's search had been long and deep and wide. He had considered and discarded scores of terms. His final selection, his word in a word, was "salesmanship," the art of connecting sellers and buyers.

Our letdown was so evident, our burst of laughter so spontaneous, that the speaker was hurt. These Americans! Always the rough-and-tumble sort, the big bully boys! Recovering poise, our guest went on. "You should not laugh at this. If you cried, that would be good. But to laugh, no!"

He explained then what we knew, talking slowly, sure of his point. We had, it seemed, planted machinery everywhere, planted

at earth's ends our gadgetry, blueprints, and designs. We had remodeled the world; at least got the process well under way. Here the speaker drew the knot tight. "Is this character," he asked, "is this great? Or is it salesmanship, a peaceful world conquest?" Not knowing the answer, no one tried to reply. Each of us thought, no doubt, his own thoughts. We thought of the men who went with the machinery, who represented us at the four corners of the world, who spoke for us everywhere.

Of late scholars have turned to studies of national character at home and abroad, and some have come up with startling finds. For example, Margaret Mead, a distinguished anthropologist, has accepted Gorer's theory that basic Russian character derives from the swaddling of infants!

Mead has, in her own right, advanced some curious ideas. To account for the atmosphere of suspicion prevalent in Russia, she explains that every Russian has the capacity for both good and bad.⁷ News, no doubt. Other insights are equally startling. Russians who smoke heavy pipes do this to conceal their facial expressions. Strict parental authority in child rearing bears a close resemblance to the "Little Father" relation of the late Stalin to Soviet citizens. Doubtless Uncle Joe's own pipe smoking was the key to his sinister character, his unbounded suspicions of Uncle Sam and the West.

Among recent studies of national character, most have dealt with Germans and Japanese. Various social-science spokesmen have agreed fairly well on certain so-called "character traits." For Germans, the list includes obedience, respect for authority, feelings of insecurity, a drive toward power and status. For Japanese, loyalty, obedience, conformity, and discipline. Males are said to be dominant and aggressive; females passive, submissive, and affectionate. Both sexes seek to keep up appearances, to avoid loss of face.

Klineberg offers three criticisms of such character studies.

1. Before we can accept any description of personality or "character" as valid for any given group, we must be certain that an adequate and representative sample of that group has been studied.
2. When different groups are to be compared, the tools of study, tests, measurements, etc., must be equally valid for all the groups. In this

⁷ Margaret Mead, *Soviet Attitudes toward Authority*, McGraw-Hill, 1951.

connection, current study methods and commonly used norms are highly suspect.

3. Several approaches should be combined in any attempt to ascertain "group" characteristics. Different instruments can act as checks on each other.⁸

Let us record a healthy skepticism in respect to all but a few of the character-trait studies which we have seen. Aside from being close to World War II and its aftermaths, authors face two serious risks. One risk is that traits tend to cancel out. For instance, Coleman⁹ has brought together conceptions of "an American." Judging from the literature, Americans are generous and stingy, sympathetic and unfeeling, moral and immoral, idealistic and cynical. That is, they are human, much perhaps as are other peoples. Virtues and vices comingle, as is to be expected.

Second, traits tend to change over time. Crevecoeur's portrait of Americans in late 1700's is not the deep-going picture of de Tocqueville in the 1830's, and this study differs from Bryce's a half century ago and from Gorer, Mead *et al.*, as of today. Some traits are constant, *i.e.*, appear on every list, but many are variable, no doubt because of time and tide as well as the listers themselves.

The best listing we have seen is that of Williams¹⁰ on American value orientations. Culled from research studies, this vignette of Americans is: stress on success; a get-ahead viewpoint; worth of individual effort; a tendency to view the world in moral terms; strong humanitarianism; belief in their own efficiency; belief in progress; value of material comfort; avowal and (to an extent) practice of equality; strong faith in science, nationalism, and patriotism; conviction that democracy is the best form of government; belief in native-white supremacy.

Better studies of this sort will come as the shift, now in process, from character and personality to culture is more fully made. National differences probably do exist. Germans may differ from the French, Americans from Chinese, Russians from any other people. Large UN inquiries have been started on this. If significant variations are uncovered, they will likely be matters of degree. It is

⁸ Otto Klineberg, *Tensions Affecting International Understandings*, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1950.

⁹ Lee Coleman, "What Is American, A Study of Alleged American Traits," *Social Forces*, 19: 492-499, 1941.

¹⁰ Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, pp. 388-440, Knopf, 1951.

fairly certain that they will be cultural, rather than a matter of human breed and blood.¹¹

SOME SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

One may see in many schools the use of UN films, film strips, recordings, and print materials. He may see units of study, school programs, and so on, built about some local DP family, some youngster of foreign birth, some formalized event or celebration. Teaching is done by means of songs, games, stories, workbooks, letter writing, exhibits, and the like. Pupil letter writing, exchanges of mail with peer mates in foreign lands, has reached tremendous proportions, as has the gift of books and CARE packages. Teaching is clearly ethnocentric, though far less than most of the schoolwork reported from abroad.¹²

While we would like to see American schooling more objective than it is, our criticisms and suggestions do not stop with this. First, to keep the record straight, much that we have seen taught about other peoples is simply not correct. Second, an observer will note *ad nauseam* a tendency to romanticize, to teach world-mindedness in a purely sentimental way. Third, any teaching about Russia except that Russia is bad is at this present date either prohibited or suspect. Fourth, work units are poorly centered from a practical point of view. For example, in a recent survey of some 60 Middle Western grade schools, we found about a hundred units, projects, etc., which met our criteria for international education at this level. Almost a third of lower-grade work dealt with some exotic people, mostly the Eskimos. "It was easy," as one instructor wrote, "for my children to build an igloo."

To add a word to point 4 above, we regret the tendency to ignore Canada, our great and friendly neighbor. Canadians know Americans, like many of them, teach well about them. They admire the United States, believe it to be the most powerful nation in the

¹¹ Reference is to "culture area" studies. A leading center for this type of research is Human Relations Area Files, Inc., Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

¹² For example, Russia. "Education in the Soviet Union," wrote George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge, *I Want to Be Like Stalin*, pp. 13 and 15, John Day, 1947, "is essentially and profoundly social in purpose . . . wholly and unreservedly committed to the achievement of their [Soviet] purposes. Soviet children are made to feel the seriousness of this work in school beyond anything known in the whole history of American education."

world.¹³ They do not understand why some Americans who travel in the Dominion, or write about it, or come to help on a school problem, regard Canada as another state in the United States. Are these egocentric Americans too thickheaded to see what effects their viewpoint has? Are Canadians too sensitive, too thin-skinned? Whatever the answer, one fact seems clear. We cannot afford to misjudge our fast-growing neighbor, to injure present good will. A mature understanding is imperative for the well-being of each country. Schools can do much to nurture this, to teach that Canada is far more than a good place in which to travel, to hunt and fish.

At high school and college levels, there is greater teacher sophistication as a general rule. There is more foreign travel, more intimate acquaintance with other lands. We have seen some excellent study units on foreign affairs, national characteristics, run-of-life customs, economic relations, the world community, and the like. We have built file data along these lines, but it would take time to give cases here. Various issues need study, for instance, the problem of how attitudes, built up in the warmth of classroom projects, can be made to transfer to peoples from whom we are separated by the thickness of the earth. Books for teachers are improving,¹⁴ yet they still lack the *realia* we would like to see in them.

UNESCO, A WORLD RESOURCE

Any talk about international education, no matter how brief, would have to pay attention to UNESCO. This is, as every student knows, an agency of the United Nations. In 1953, about 7 years after its founding, its members came from some 60 nations. Its budget for 1952 was over 9 million dollars, a sum inadequate for its expanding program. Many American educators are UNESCO fans, with a number taking their students on regular visits to headquarters in New York.¹⁵

What is UNESCO? How does it work? Its stated aims are "to

¹³ A good reading is H. L. Keenleyside and G. S. Brown, *Canada and the United States*, Knopf, 1952.

¹⁴ Examples are C. O. Arndt and S. Everett, *Education for a World Society*, Harper, 1951, and L. S. Kenworthy, *World Horizons for Teachers*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

¹⁵ Address inquiries to Information Center for the United Nations, 220 W. 45th St., New York City.

contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science, and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, for the human rights and freedoms which are affirmed for the people of the world . . . by the charter of the United Nations."

UNESCO's greatest single concern is with education. No meeting of minds, no community of ideas and ideals, can be imagined without continuous communication. UNESCO devotes itself to the extension of basic education, the improvement of educational programs, with special stress on international education. In addition to basic education—teaching literacy, farming, health, etc., UNESCO functions in five major ways.

(1) In the natural sciences, it promotes world-wide meetings of specialists, diffuses science findings, and underwrites some projects. (2) In the social sciences, its work is much the same. The aim is to apply scientific method to economic, social, and psychological problems, to publish study techniques and findings. (3) In cultural activities, UNESCO furthers the cooperation of artists, musicians, writers, and other creative workers. For example, the development of art is encouraged, art products protected, and art treasures and heritages exhibited.

(4) The Department of Exchange Persons provides data on travel in foreign nations, on study and work conditions. It administers fellowships and scholarships, its own and others entrusted to it. (5) In its mass communications division, concern is with the right of people everywhere to be informed. UNESCO makes surveys of mass-media uses and facilities, spotting adverse influences where they exist. It educates nations on communications, and it supplies material to all sorts of world-wide news and opinion outlets.

The more one studies UNESCO, the more he is likely to think that it shows the emergence of world consciousness of unity and interdependence. No few million dollars, no few years of intense effort, can knit mankind together, yet UNESCO hammers away at forging links and bonds. Many, many persons cannot be reached because of their illiteracy, such as an estimated 90.9 per cent of India's population. There are other millions who believe that UNESCO offers nothing worth taking, that it is a vast UN propaganda mill. That is Russia's attitude. Within the United States, UNESCO is often made the target of political attacks.

WHAT DO OUR DOLLARS BUY?

UNESCO is only one, albeit a big one, of many global educational, humanitarian, service, and research organizations. Some are governmental, some are not. All seek to serve the cause of peace, the health, well-being, and progress of mankind. Students will think of our tremendous Point Four program the world around, or they may think of some great foundation, say, the Rockefeller or Ford Foundation.

Rockefeller, Sr., held that "giving is a difficult art."¹⁶ Having millions to give away, he believed it best to "search for cause, to attempt to cure evils at their source." The first great evil his foundation tried to cure was hookworm in our rural South. Doctors and others began by spotting areas where this disease was worst, after which preventive programs were set up. Thousands of meetings were held; millions of pamphlets were distributed. School-teachers were organized and trained in giving instruction and care. Within a period of 10 years, hookworm was brought under control.

The Rockefeller Foundation has undertaken many other projects, for instance, fever campaigns. First, typhus teams were set up to study the fever caused by blood flukes, carried by snails. Then scarlet fever in Rumania, malaria in Nicaragua, undulant fever in France, Oroya fever in Peru, dengue on Guam were studied.

Yes, there are moments when Americans can be glad to be American, proud of what the record shows. We are today, as in the past, sending food, clothing, arms, tools, books, medicine, doctors, engineers, educators, everywhere outside of iron-curtain nations. We are digging into an inexhaustible (*sic*) hope chest. What do our dollars buy, our billions of public and private monies? To hold that none of them buy what they are supposed to buy is simply not correct. Dollars do get better health for people, better education, a better chance in life. They do help some very vulnerable nations firm up against aggression. But our flow of dollars also buys effects not wanted and not liked. We pay through the nose, as a farmer might put it, for large amounts of ill will, envy, suspicion, and outright hate.

Yes, dollars buy products which confuse us, turn our feelings inward onto our sorry plight. St. Luke spoke once on this topic, the lot of the good Samaritan in his times. To many Americans, the

¹⁶ Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, Harper, 1952.

situation is a paradox. There is an eagerness to accept our assistance, to demand more, yet to hate us, the givers. We are the plunderers, the braggards, the canny go-getters. And all of us are millionaires!

There is a puzzle here, to be sure. Yet, all things considered, what else could we have done? Some of our help has had strings attached; much does not and never has had. In any event, we give because it seems to us the decent, prudent thing to do, the inevitable consequence of our position in world affairs. For students who worry about this, we would like to cite a letter by a London manufacturer, Mr. Ernest J. Bourne.

On Twiggig Uncle Sam's Nose¹⁷

I read with no little amusement the fuss stirred up in Newmarket [England] by Mrs. Stocker's criticisms of the British [*Time*, Sept. 3, 1951]. Mrs. Stocker [an American] is still young by our standards. You Americans are perturbed by the growing "anti-Americanism" now seen throughout the world. "What is the cause of this?" you ask, and it is all very simple.

Until 1939, the British were a great world power, almost *the* world power, and it was always good politics to twist the lion's tail. It raised a laugh all the way from Washington to Cairo and Teheran. We, in England, could never understand the ingratitude of other peoples whom we had helped (for their own benefit and our profit), but we were rich enough to shrug our shoulders and let the matter pass. Now there is little fun in twisting the poor old lion's tail. Instead a new game has evolved. Uncle Sam has a nose. If that nose gets twiggged, its owner lets out a yell. But what fun! And what a sure sign of national greatness, power, and wealth!

Long may this nose twiggig last. For our benefit, for the benefit of people everywhere, for your benefit there at home, and for the discomfort of the Kremlin. You in America have got just one more lesson to learn from this old country of ours, namely, *to take nose twiggig gracefully!* You need to worry when countries cease to be so-called "anti-American." You will then have lost your vigorous health, your ability to lead and to be great.

London, England

ERNEST J. BOURNE

This is a kindly letter, a heart-warming one. Having become well acquainted with Mr. Bourne, we know how highly he regards

¹⁷ Printed in *Time*, Sept. 24, 1951. Used by permission.

America. He wants us, first, to see the humor in our present situation and, second, to keep balance. We must keep balance between too much and too little national pride, too much and too little concern for what people say about us. One needs the healthy selfishness that comes, say, to a person who would protect himself from some disaster, who would chart a sensible course of life.

FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

What topic next? The choices are varied, and we can think of no objective way of judging them. Foreign travel is close to many students; in fact, thousands of them trek over the world every year. They wander about alone or on tours, especially in summertime. In this year 1953-1954 some 1,300 scholarships will be granted Americans (if peace holds) under the Fulbright Act. Applications are made via our State Department for study and travel in one or more of 19 countries friendly to the United States. While we are tempted to go on with this, to talk about student experiences on travel tours, it might be better to reverse the situation, to look at foreign students who come to visit with us.

In 1952, it is reported that more than 30,000 students from 126 countries attended 1,354 colleges and universities in all 48 American states. This is a big task force, one that has incalculable bearing on world unity and good will. These strangers mingle with us, learn about us, even as we learn about them. What do they learn? How do they react to their American experiences? We have read some 50 studies on this, only scratching the surface as it were. Take the language problem of Mr. Ojike, a former student of ours. Mr. Ojike is a Nigerian, and he is visiting in the home of a college staff member, along with other student guests.

*Strange People, You Americans!*¹⁸

When I arrive at the professor's door, I knock at the door as I would do at home in Nigeria. For three minutes, no one come. I am beginning to wonder if I have right address when Chinese student remind me to ring the bell. I ring the bell. The host opens the door. "How do

¹⁸ We have searched Mr. Ojike's writings for this story, especially his *I Have Two Countries*, John Day, 1947, wanting to credit him. If it is in this book, or in an earlier one, we have failed to find it. Mr. Ojike did have normal "word trouble" at the start but since has written at least two books in English. That is no inconsiderable progress, if we may judge.

you *do*," he asks. Each of us reply, "I do very well." We are then introduced to the hostess who say how *do* we *do*. I say again that we do very well.

Half an hour later, two American girls arrive. Instead of saying to their hosts and us, "we do very well," they ask us how do *we* do. After replying that we do well, I make bold to ask: "Why, girls, do you repeat this question? Why do you not say *you* do well?" It is the custom, they say. It is the way greetings are returned. I accept this explanation and think it very clever to ask the question, rather than to answer it as in my country.

At eight o'clock, I thank the professor's wife for the hospitality which we have enjoyed very much. As I look for our coats and hats, the host asks, "You want your wraps?" "No," I answer, "we want our coats and hats." "He means your coats and hats," the hostess says, at which we all laugh. "Oh," I said, "I see! Yes, we want our wraps," and we all laugh some more. Everybody is happy.

As the host opens the door, the wife makes a speech. She tells us how they have enjoyed our company and ask that we come back again. After we leave the house, I ask the Chinese what we are to do. He says he has met a missionary in China who said that when in doubt about what Americans mean, one should go and ask them. So, we went back.

I ring the bell and the hostess opens the door. She is surprised to see us. "What is wrong, boys?" she asks. "Have you forgotten something?" "No, madam," I say. "You ask us to come back, and we have come back." They did not laugh at our mistake. They say it is the American way to say good-by.

"In my country," I say, "when we want to tell a guest good-by, we say 'May you go in peace.'" That is a nice custom she say, and tell then that we should go in peace but come back again. It is all very confusing, I believe.

Indeed, language is confusing. Campus small talk, slang usages, and so on, are hard for most aliens to grasp, much as we would find it in their lands. One can observe letter-perfect foreign students, marvel at the purity of their formal speech and writing, yet know that they are hopelessly lost in everyday chitchat.

What are we really like in the eyes of foreign students? No single case could be at all representative. It could at best suggest only one type of reaction, and even that claim would have to be established by more data than we possess. Here is a lecture by a Japanese professor, given on his return to Japan after a study tour of the United States.

*The Life of the Americans*¹⁹

Houses. Have no futility and cosy. Furnitures well designed and almost all houses equipped highly electrified furnitures. Daily life are quite efficient. For instance, stoves, washing machines, refrigerators.

Meals. Breakfast much lighter. Main meal is at evening. Mostly dine merrily. No one fall into doze except old people.

Clothing. Simple as a whole, especially young men and girl clad simple.

Occupation. They never despise work. They work hard through working hours without gossip. Spend their off day at home.

Customs. Equal right for both sexes. No predominance of man. Although boss of family is man, a parent, his sense to protect women is quite deep. Americans esteem history: a nation esteem history take great care of old people. Also keep cemetery clean.

Pubescent men and girl have their friend of opposite sex. But they distinguish the word "I like you" from "I love you." The former is society and the latter is love affairs. They never indiscriminate them. As soon as they got a friend, they introduce them to parents. And mother always guide them. They never kiss lip to lip before engagement. American girl have reason to say no.

Children consult parents everything, as to securing employment, marriage, etc., etc. However, they get old, and a few persist to the end against parent opinion. But they never dare to do free marriage without parent consent.

American love to hear and play music. You can find violin, guitar, and other, with which even old ones are playing.

Education. Compulsory up to high school. Coeducational system. Institutions up from high school have night course for adult education.

One cannot become a teacher until 27 years old. Salary are cheaper than other white-collar worker. Teachers mostly gentle and right person. Accordingly, respected by parents and society. Teachers never call themselves educational laborers. Principal never dignifies himself. Never treat teachers differently whether his favorite teacher or not. Principal studies most. There exist teachers' Association but never become communistic. Very careful against communist smuggler.

American education not for genius but for vocational men and harmonious citizens. Although knowledge is not much above Japanese level, no one break off branches of trees, pick flowers in park. Newspapers

¹⁹ By Courtesy of Professor Ray Smittle, Wayne University, and selected from the material he gathered in 1951-1952 in Japan as a consultant on education. Smittle explains that "this report by Mr. S. Kozonoi represents first impressions of the United States." He adds that these impressions appear to be rather widespread among the English-speaking Japanese whom he met.

sold without salesboy. No one cheat fare on busses and trams. These social morality due to school education. Fosters person who esteem culture and order.

Feeling toward Japan. Kind to Japanese in country. Americans will take good care of us when we lay bare our hearts and say "leave it to you." America is nation to be a boss. If we bullish to them, we shall provoke antipathy. Or they say to us, "OK, you go your way, we don't care." They ready to help Japan but they think Japanese too smart.

Conclusion. Visiting and studying in the United States, I deeply felt as follows: The reason the United States defeat Japan is abundance of resources and superior of science, but these are not whole. They won as a human. They claim their right to victory, but at same time they carry out their obligation faithfully. Their patriotism is quite strong. Their ancestors grow up in adverse environment and had miserable history as a weak state. They strong now.

We suppose that this writer, like any writer, will have to stand on his batting average, his hits and misses. An American might well imagine what things would be like if roles were reversed, if he tried to write a description of Japanese life and customs. He would be impressed, no doubt, with the complexity of the task.

Most studies of foreign students which we have read deal with their current adjustment problems. In one survey of 141 students, 60 per cent cited problems which were classified as academic, economic, and personal-social.²⁰ In another study, 100 Indian students were interviewed.²¹ Two-thirds said they had a very favorable attitude toward the United States before coming here to study. After being here a short while, 89 per cent thought well of us. After 4 to 40 months of living with us, only 29 per cent were still favorable. Fifty-seven per cent had an unfavorable view, and the remainder had mixed feelings.

One of these Indian students found this to be a "frightened country." The reason was, he felt, that "Russia is close behind, so that Americans are scared." He believed that this fear affected our general way of life, that "your real freedom is being crippled by world affairs." A second student was disappointed in our democracy. "Society gives the individual the opportunity to do what he pleases, but then it puts racial and religious barriers in his

²⁰ J. A. Peterson and M. H. Neumeyer, "Problems of Foreign Students," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32: 787-792, 1947-48.

²¹ Norman Kiell, "Attitudes of Foreign Students," *Journal of Higher Education*, 22: 188-195, 1951.

way. America, while idealistic, has not solved its group-relations problem."

EXCHANGE-OF-PERSONS PROGRAM

Our educational exchange program, known as the Fulbright Act, is relevant here. In 1953-1954, to repeat a point, Americans could apply via our State Department for 1,300 scholarships in 19 countries. A comparable number of foreign students and professors were given the opportunity to study here during this same year. Grants to Americans include round-trip travel, tuition, funds for books and equipment, plus a small living allowance. Foreign students were paid round-trip travel but had to meet their expenses in the United States.

In 1951, an educational commission made a study of our exchange-of-persons program in Germany and Austria. Their main recommendations apply to all students who are going abroad or coming here under Fulbright or other grants-in-aid.

*Exchange of Persons, Recommendations*²²

A. In respect to adolescents, sixteen to nineteen years of age:

These young persons should be selected, placed, and supervised with particular care. In regard to foreign teen-agers, it is important that they be chosen in time for the Americans who are to have charge of them to establish contacts with them and their parents. Sponsoring agencies should make every effort to see that these youngsters are placed in families of religious faiths which are acceptable to foreign parents.

B. In respect to college and university students:

While exchangees should represent a wide variety of scholarly and vocational interests, they should be persons whose primary concern is to gain firsthand understanding of the United States rather than to make normal advances in their specialties. Special consideration should be given to German and Austrian students who are well advanced toward a college degree or have just obtained it.

If at all possible, students should be brought to the United States a month or so before their college term will begin and placed in American homes where they can gain a general orientation to American life. They should then be enrolled in colleges and universities which appreciate the purposes of the exchange program. Whether these students should pursue normal college courses of study, meeting the

²² Karl W. Bigelow et al., *The Role of American Voluntary Agencies in Germany and Austria*, American Council on Education, 1951.

usual requirements, or follow a specialized program to be worked out for them will depend upon individual cases.

Local coordinators of exchange programs should be selected with particular care as to their interest in intercountry relations and their knowledge of foreign countries. Where possible, they should be able to speak the language of the student's homeland.

This report speaks at length about the purposes underlying student and faculty exchanges. In general, the aim is to strengthen educational and cultural relations with all nations friendly to us. Students selected to come here or to go abroad should meet various personality requirements, for example, be "sensitive, open-minded, and intelligent." The length of their stay here or abroad should be long enough—at least 6 to 12 months—so that "binational, indeed multinational, cooperation can result."

College foreign-student committees, bureaus, and offices ask that students and teachers not misjudge the difficulty inherent in this type of short-term alien-native contact. These "ambassadors of good will" are not passing through, like tourists, with typical tourist attitudes. They are here to stay for a time, to live and to learn. Differences between them and their hosts do exist. They range from food tastes and body care to social relations and philosophical outlooks. The issue, as we see it, is not merely to "get along" with these strangers, nor is it to pet them or convert them. It is to effect the kind of human relations which permit an exchange of ideas and feelings, with no person trying to sell another a bill of goods.

We are inclined, as just implied, to stress the need for a primary group relationship. The younger the alien, the more he needs to live within a circle of American friends. Whatever the age level, the best two-way learning we have ever seen has come when strangers are brought inside small play, action, and study groups, drawn into the orbit of group life. This is well done in and out of college communities in various countries, for instance, in Mexico. No doubt Americans can excel at this if they feel the need to be very great.

A JUST IMMIGRATION POLICY

One-world education makes one think of many things—foreign lands, exotic peoples, political intrigues, UN debates. But this education must not be divorced from domestic issues, the problems

of race, creed, and national origins. The world at home and abroad are interactive, so that what happens in one affects the other. It is with this thought that we shall conclude the chapter, the issue selected being a just immigration policy.

Our present interest is in the so-called "McCarran act," effective December, 1952. This is a kind of omnibus law, codifying various laws and executive orders. The act removes certain inequalities of long standing, for example, *all* Asiatics are now eligible for American citizenship under naturalization procedures. But the law continues the principle of national origins, thus keeps the cards stacked against certain national populations.

The national-origins principle, as said in Chapter 2, takes our 94 million white persons in 1920 as a base. This population is broken down according to national origins, and these percentages are then used to determine annual immigrant quotas. The results, as intended, favor northern and western Europeans and discriminate against southern and eastern Europeans. For example, about 154,000 quota immigrants are permitted to enter the United States each year. In any given year, 41 per cent may come from Britain and North Ireland, 11.2 per cent from Ireland, but only 3 per cent from Italy and, to take another extreme figure, 2 per cent from Greece. British quotas are seldom filled, whereas Italian and Greek quotas are always insufficient.

When, in June, 1952, the McCarran bill came before the Senate, various liberal Senators sought to defeat the measure or to amend it. One proposal was that 1950, rather than 1920, be used as a population base from which to compute immigrant quotas. Other proposals were that unused quotas be transferred to countries in need of them, that Orientals (if they are naturalized citizens of a country) be permitted to emigrate under that country's assigned quota. It was also proposed that deportation rules be revised in several particulars, chiefly to prevent out-of-hand deportation of naturalized citizens for petty crimes, also of alien brides (or bridegrooms) who fail to fulfill marital agreements to the satisfaction of the Attorney General, and of anyone convicted by a Comintern government of violating law.

In spite of the strong support of many citizen groups, all such proposals were defeated, and the bill was passed. It was argued that any shift toward the year 1950 would "destroy our quota system"

by "opening our gates to a flood of Asiatics and undesirable Europeans."

To us, it seems evident that a policy which penalizes certain nationals will be regarded by them as unjust. This policy will speak louder than words as to our good-neighbor intentions. So far as our knowledge goes, every recent scholarly inquiry into the matter has recommended basic revisions in the McCarran law, in sum, a truly nondiscriminating immigration system. Educators might well inform themselves fully about this.²³ If after study they believe that policy changes are needed, educational enlightenment toward this end would be a very practical movement toward world unity, understanding, and good will.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Have you thought long enough, and hard enough, about our national interest to tell where you stand? Arrange a panel discussion on this topic.
2. "It is better," says Winston Churchill, "to have a world united than a world divided, but it is also better to have a world divided than a world destroyed." What does this mean in current times? How do you react?
3. Make a class report on what schools are doing to teach world unity and good will. The Arndt-Everett and Kenworthy studies in our bibliography are good.
4. What novels have you read about the war in Korea? For GI scuttlebutt and incisive comment, we choose Pat Frank, *Hold Back the Night*, Lippincott, 1951.
5. How many foreign students are there at your college? With how many of them are you acquainted? How do they react to Americans? Americans to them? What special services does your college offer them? What changes do you suggest?
6. How does the USSR keep its vast population under control, how does it educate children, how does it win converts in other lands? For the first point, read an article by Dinko Tomasic, in the *American Sociological Review*, 16: 137-148, 1951; for the second, the little book by Counts and Lodge, *I Want to Be Like Stalin*, John Day, 1947; and for the third, one selection is Sidney Lens, *The Counterfeit Revolution*, Beacon Press, 1952.

²³ See William S. Bernard (ed.), *American Immigration Policy, A Reappraisal*, Harper, 1950.

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PART FOUR

Retrospect and Outlook

CHAPTER 15

In Review—the Educator's Role

The old are always trying to tell us something, to leave with us something wise and fine. But it is hard to understand what they are saying. . . . It's all mixed up in them.

They know . . . they don't know. I don't know if they know or not. Maybe they are less certain than they seem. Anyhow, I think the young have got to learn for themselves.

—FROM A STUDENT PAPER

This is the place—and the time—for a review. We should look behind us at the trail, see where we have been, before starting a final climb. By "final" is meant only the last chapter in the book, a chapter written for students who wish further training in intergroup work, who want to go ahead.

In this chapter, we shall first look back. Our review, however, will be brief, for it can only be *our* view of what this text has been about. Your review is yours, whatever it adds up to, however it is done. We shall try simply to frame up the volume's mode of thought, after which there is a topic that we hope will be pondered long and well. It is the teacher-leader role in intergroup work, in the classroom and outside. This is not something one can pick up and put down. It must be lived with, slept on, until one's ideas shape themselves.

INTERGROUP EDUCATION

It was said in Chapter 1 that intergroup education is not like some kinds of social education, well worked out and agreed upon. On the contrary, there is no standard college-course pattern, nothing over the nation that one can count on. The problem is to determine what this field should be, how to organize materials for instructional use. That is what has been attempted in this book.

This job will have to be done many times before anything like a common view can emerge. Even then, we shall have our differences if this type of teacher education is to live and to grow.

What has been done in these pages has been to center thought on prejudice and discrimination, to study their nature and expressions and to suggest ways and means for their school control. Race, creed, and national origins have been made central, plus especially the social-class variable. The total study outline is seen in Fig. 12.

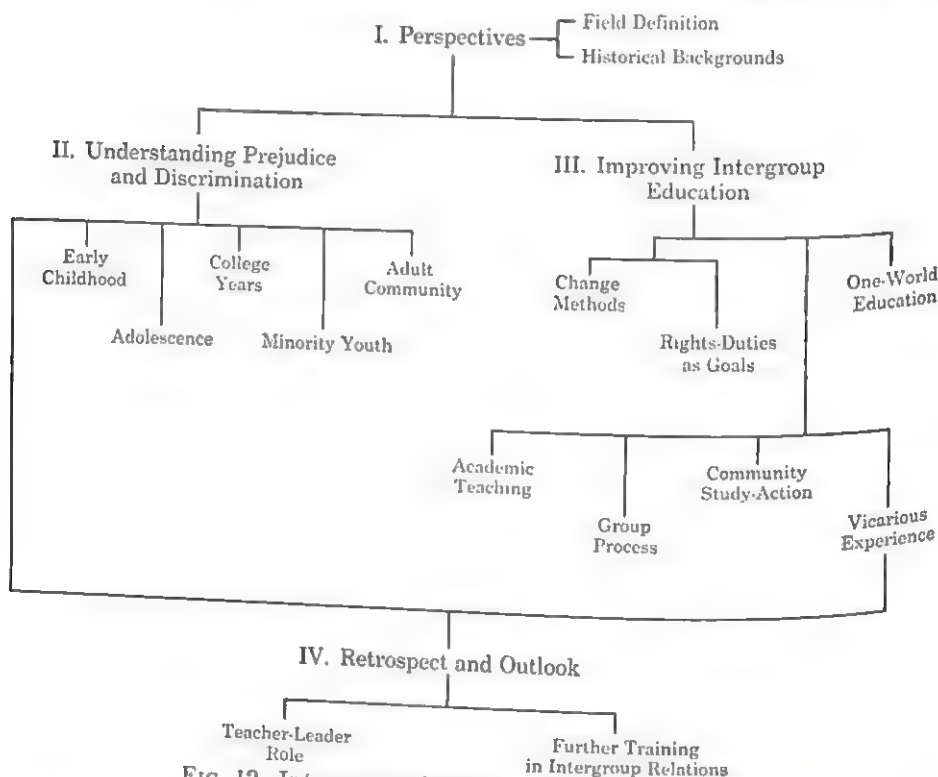


FIG. 12. Intergroup education, a frame of reference.

Chapter 1, it will be remembered, stated a point of view. After some bits of cases to start talk going, we had a look at some basic concepts. Next came the problem of change action, followed by a statement of goals. Chapter 2 was history, a perspective teachers need. The problem of reeducating people in better human relations is a national problem, or international, though every teacher does the work at hand, the jobs about him, wherever he happens to be. Of course, he can reach out, survey the world from his vantage point.

Part Two was based on a conviction, a concern which we fear

not all our teacher colleagues share. It is simply the need *to know*, to stop doing this and that until we learn what has been found out, what it appears possible to do. In intergroup relations, far more than in some fields, we must inquire into research findings, absorb what scientists can teach us about the prejudice-discrimination blight. Chapters here ranged over an age gradient, from the nursery school up the hill to the adult community. Studies were presented as cases, since essential data are better learned and remembered if they are embedded in relevant detail.

Part Three was felt to be of greatest concern to preservice and inservice teachers, as well as to social-agency and other workers in the intergroup field. Chapter 8 assessed current change methods. The next unit, perhaps the most controversial in the book, outlined a rights-duties and ideals approach to value issues. We have felt for some years that this offers more to teachers than does, say, a human-needs orientation, though the two can be worked together with good results. A study of school cases will reveal that this viewpoint has not been pressed to the exclusion of other views, for our desire has been to show school and college teaching as it now is.

After the rights chapter, four units illustrated and analyzed four common teaching methods—the academic, group-process, community study-action, and vicarious experiencing. Had space permitted, we would have had more chapters of this sort, for example, a unit on ceremonials.

Our chief criticism of Part Three chapters is that they do not penetrate far enough into the more complex issues an intergroup educator must face, for instance, the problem of risk calculation. Our teaching practice has been to keep this type of data and theory for students who are more advanced than those whom this textbook was meant to serve.

Chapter 14 may need a word. The time has passed, we sincerely hope, when an intergroup text can give a footnote to school and college activities in the cause of world peace, unity, and good will. Northrop,¹ among others, makes a fine case for the interconnection of local, national, and international levels, much too strong a case for intergroup educators to ignore. We registered, in passing, some discontent with what we have seen in schools, a fault—if fault it is—traceable to teacher-training emphases, at least in part. Edu-

¹ F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West*, Macmillan, 1946, and *Ideological Differences and World Order*, Yale University Press, 1949.

cators need, we think, to make far more use of college social-science courses, to inform themselves about the world.

Part Four content, this chapter and the next, will become clear as we move along. Here, as elsewhere, we have had to make choices, to exclude material which we had no wish to drop.

Enough for our review. How should a college class organize its review? One scheme we have seen is to take the book by Parts. On the last day or so of class, student groups report on each Part. Another plan is to work with what, in Chapter 1, was called the *KVSJ* complex. One student team might bring together knowledge content, another value emphases, a third skills, and a fourth judgmental decisions. A third review program has been for students to write a rather personal paper on the teacher role in respect to race, creed, and national origins; on, say, "What I Believe, By Golly—" about himself and his work. A professor can, if he wishes, read excerpts in class without identifying paper writers.

THE TEACHER-LEADER ROLE

In the College Study project, many teachers met—some for the first time—the ideas discussed in this book. There was disagreement, skepticism, argument, all to the good. As our discussions continued, we found issues which could not be resolved—differences in knowledge, in values, and the like. After repeated searches for common ground, many issues were filed away into what, for lack of a better name, was called "confusion corner." The major issue, the one on which many of us remained far apart, centered on the teacher-leader role in school and college intergroup work.

An incident will show one way in which this difficult problem arose. The situation is a workshop for College Study leaders, key persons assembled from all the colleges in the program. The quote is accurate, *i.e.*, a stenographic record. Mr. C is the present writer, the College Study director. Some professor has just said that the Study "has no policy in race relations, nothing I can pin down."

Listening in on a Workshop²

Mr. C: You may be right, R, but we have not felt that way. We think there is a general policy, that all the colleges made it. What do you think, M?

² From Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, pp. 267-268, American Council on Education, 1951.

- Mr. M: I think R is wrong. When you visited our campus, C, the last time, we talked about this, remember? We can't go very fast on race there in the South, but you said that's OK. You said to do whatever could be done. Am I right in this?
- Mr. C: Yes. Miss H [same college], do you agree with M's point of view about race? With what M has just said?
- Miss H: Yes. We are conservative at our college, no matter what anyone else may think or say, and we are going to stay that way.
- Mr. R: That is just what I mean. You *are* conservative. Afraid to take a chance, and we call ourselves leaders. Why, that is not leadership. I claim the College Study has no policy of honest, aggressive leadership.
- Mr. W: I want to support R. The Federal Constitution was not made by cautious people, nor was the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. I have noticed a lack of courage in these discussions. We err too much on the side of caution. I say the thing to do is to get in there and fight.
- Mr. C: Now, Miss H, suppose you have a situation there at your college where one of your committees wants to make studies of white-Negro attitudes. Would that be all right?
- Miss H: Sure, we do that right along. Our students do it. You know that.
- Mr. C: What about service projects for Negro people, say, starting a play lot for them, supervising their play?
- Miss H: We have two of these projects going, as my report shows.
- Mr. W: But you can't mix them together, socialize with them. You can't treat them as equals, like we do here?
- Miss H: No, I don't know. That might lead to trouble. In our community, white and colored people do not do that.
- Mr. R: That is just what I mean. You are afraid.
- Mr. C: I know that we see now, R, what you mean. Let's take a concrete action project and see how far each of us thinks it is possible to go.
- Miss L: I am not following this discussion at all. I don't understand it. When Dr. C was on our campus, he gave a big push to our intercollege [Negro-white] student visitation program. Didn't you [Mr. C] compliment us on this and put some extra College Study funds into it, didn't you? So, what about that?

And so there was confusion; some discussants pressing forward, some holding back. We had indeed found "extra" money for inter-college visits, in truth, believed then and now that this is a good way to improve race relations. At the same time, we had not pushed Southern colleges beyond their usual depths, that is, the making of factual studies, the planning of service projects. Else-

where, for example, at Roosevelt College, we had helped students plan a campaign against discriminatory stores. No wonder our behaviors seemed contradictory, though we did not feel at all confused. What we did, or did not do, seemed to us to make good sense.

To "unfog" this business further, since the point is really crucial in all manner of intergroup work, let us take another case. The setting is the South, a college for Negroes with a mixed staff. The distinctive thing about the faculty, aside from its erudition, is the pride taken in radicalism, an all-out war on caste. "No compromise" is not a slogan; it is a considered stand.

The material we shall use comes from another man. Reference is to an unusual College Study document, a private diary, given to us after the college program had ended. This diary was kept by a participant in the affairs described, and for reasons we do not know. "Dr. C, the CS guy," is again the national College Study director, the same chap who figured in the preceding workshop discussion.

Communication, Breakdown and Repair³

Oct. 6. All hands present to hear Dr. C on the College Study. Said much the same as we have read in his canned stuff. Interested in "democratic human relations," etc. Spoke too long and said too little, for we know better than he ever will what the South is like. But what the heck, we have voted to go into this project. Another Boy Scout good-will tour.

Oct. 7. Various small group meetings scheduled with the CS director. Much talk about what our college should try to do, the year's program. Three faculty members and two students present at meeting in my office. One prof quite impossible for anyone to work with. C listened to ideas, contributed few of his own. Seemed reluctant to evaluate ours. Said he had to catch the feel of our campus, its general mode of thought and social situation.

Faculty meeting that evening at the J home [president's home], and I'm sure the meeting had been rigged. Not sure the CS guy had a hand in it, though he had eaten supper with the J family. The president led off with his usual stale joke, followed by his usual pep talk. After this, our general chairman announced seven projects, asking each of us to take part in any one. He asked also that each group meet during the coming week, make a work plan, budget, and so on.

I must say that C did not seem overly pleased at all this easy sailing, in fact, seemed suspicious of it. He asked several times if enough thought

³ From Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, pp. 171-175, American Council on Education, 1951.

had been given to the year's work, if the staff felt certain of its general goals. He cited other colleges in the Study where a quick survey of problems or needs had been made, following by a discussion of priority demands. But none of us wanted to open up, to tilt against the power alignments in this school. So the meeting closed.

Our perception of events during these first contacts agrees well with the views of the diary writer. We knew that this person and other staff members were seasoned veterans in race affairs, thus inclined to be suspicious of a white *auslander*. We knew that factions existed on the campus, that a power group was backing the president's desire to participate in the College Study. Aside from suggesting a self-survey for planning uses, we knew of nothing much to do. Our guess was that the college had a real action potential but that things were not set up right. The situation might have to get worse before it could get better, a hunch that proved correct.

Oct. 16. Well, the fat is in the fire. I have, personally, organized opposition to the projects foisted on us. They are not suited to our needs, to our point of view on race, nor do we have the time and skills they require. The applecart was upset at an all-staff meeting this evening. My side voted the projects down, whereupon the president asked us to prepare a new set of projects on which to work.

This turn of events was communicated to us by letter, and it was no real surprise. On our next visit to the campus, we found five study-action groups at work. All but one of the old projects had been discarded and new ones devised, a change for the better in our judgment. Here we shall skip pages of the diary in order to get at the crisis which was pending.

Nov. 4. C came in this morning and will meet for two days with our groups. Said some things in chapel we do not like. Met with some students to show off "role playing," the big idea being "to keep communication going across racial lines" (baloney!). Met this afternoon with three groups, advising them on plans. The guy is not much help to us for he takes a *compromise stand*. "Get what you can," he says, "then try to get more," and we do not go for that. We do not fight race battles in that way. It is equal rights or none for us, a lesson we'll have to teach our visitor in the hard way!

Took a walk with C after the last meeting. He asked how the day's work had gone. "Not good," I said. He said he knew he had not done well and he wondered why. I let him have it then but good. He replied with

equal frankness, saying that his views seemed to clash with faculty and student thought. I told him about our anticompromise stand, anticaste, anti-everything like that. We kicked this around a bit. C then asked if I knew a good consultant the college would like to have. Said he could provide the cash for that. Now, what can you do with a guy like that? "No," I said, "we'd not yet given him up. We'd make a man out of him," at which we both laughed and let the matter drop.

The present writer felt at this point that the job was too much for him, that the need was for a competent man. This is why the offer was made to seek the services of any consultant the college might want. When the general college chairman, the diary writer, turned this offer down, our decision was to stick it out, to see if anything could be done. After thinking rather solidly for an hour on this impasse, a vague sort of plan took shape.

Nov. 4. [Cont'd.] Supper that evening at my house, the usual bull session afterward. Eight faculty members present, two of them white. Things dull; nothing to talk about. C started telling of experiences in other colleges, obviously a gambit. Nobody much interested. C told of an argument in another bull session. Said some prof had said that no white person could tell a Negro joke to a Negro audience and not give offense. "Very interesting, *very* interesting," said Prof. L, as sarcastic as the devil. C got the point.

C then really spilled the beans. Told a joke he felt was funny but would give no offense. Said he got on a bus in Detroit, took a seat behind two small Negro lads. Listening to their gab, the bigger one said to the other, "How ol' is you?" "Dunno," the little nipper said. "Dunno how ol' yo' is?" the first boy repeated. "Naw," from his pal. "Is yo' fough or is yo' five?" "Is ah fough or is ah five? Man, I dunno." "Well, den, is yo' goin' wit de gals?" "Naw, man, naw." "You is fough. Dat how ol' you is!"

With this crazy tale, we hit the ceiling. "Man," old L said, "you oughta know better than that. You oughta have more sense. Why, that story is an insult to every self-respecting Negro, and you know it damned well."

Friend C was disturbed. He said he didn't see where the joke was harmful. We didn't take time to explain it to him. Everyone rode him and hard. We asked him what he thought he was trying to do at the college. Tear down everything we had built up? Did he think we would go for his lily-white ideas, his Uncle Tom talk? I must say that C did not get sore. Simply took it, and kept asking for more.

I don't know what turned the conversation, how it got turned. We got off on Cox's Marxianism in race relations, then onto Myrdal. Argument was hotter than it had been with C, for our faculty splits wide open.

We never agree on anything unless we have to. C came right along, pitching right and left, as if nothing had happened. The meeting got chummy after a while, breaking up past midnight.

Here was a dilemma, a group of intellectuals bent on soliloquizing about the world, what it should be like, how people should treat people. To keep faith in themselves, they had withdrawn from the life around them, escaping its debasing demands. Their college was an island apart, having no meaningful contact with the whites around about. It was not an isle of comfort but of discontent. Its staff, with exceptions, was too proud to fight, too brave to run, impotent to act. They had never learned to make a move, to give way, to spring back, like a boxer waiting for the next round.

One does not take an impasse like this lightly, not in professional group work. He tries to size it up, to make an action plan. While the faculty had accepted College Study goals in theory, in fact, had helped to make them, members had from the outset denied them in practice. The difference was not in basic aims, the ending of segregation, for all CS colleges were committed to that. The difference was procedural, *i.e.*, in methods, timing, and the like. It was a question, finally, of whether education as *education* could be of any help.

The immediate problem was to get these people to talk, to precipitate tensions. At times, a quick shock will do this, such as the insulting bus story. This is, we hasten to add, a last-resort tactic, one not recommended unless every usual way of resolving conflict has failed. It is not advised even then for beginners, for its risks are great.

Once catharsis starts, its precipitator must absorb group thrusts without flinching. He must not become ego-involved, argue back, do anything except to keep talk going. He must remember what his job is, how coiled springs unwind. His hardest task is to move out of the target spot, to redirect group thought and feelings toward integrative action. If a meeting of this sort does not end on a friendly note, if everyone does not feel a bit self-blaming, then that group may be counted lost so far as an action program goes.

The next diary entry is interesting. The writer observes that meetings on the next day "went some better," that they were "more worth while." He records that, at the bull session that evening, "Prof. L asked C if he knew any more funny stories, and

then told him a ripsnorter." Talk focused on the "liberal" in race relations—who he is, why he is, what he does. Other kinds of leaders were named, raising the question of how they interact. How do they hold back change or push it ahead? We did not, to be sure, find any final answers; in truth, we are still in correspondence, still in search.

These cases were not used in order to argue for a special point of view. Viewpoints will differ, as they should. For our part, no standard leader category quite describes what we try to be and do. At times we are not radical enough for radicals, as the cases indicate. At times we have asked too much of people, more than they could or would do. Is there no rationale to this, nothing except expediency? The question is a hard one, an issue on which thinkers have a ways disagreed. Let us broaden thought a bit before speaking directly to the point.

SOME LEADER TYPES

Glick⁴ has given some good leads; in fact, we shall paraphrase a few of the things he has said. At any time in our country, one can find many groups at work to improve race relations. One kind of grouping is racial, meaning one race. Another is interracial, two races (or more), as in the Urban League. The third is nonracial, where physical features are of no consequence.

Where biracial segregation exists, intergroup education will tend to take the one-race form. Whites study Negroes, Negroes study whites, each seeking to understand and improve the other. While contacts across the color line can be warm and many, they must conform to the caste principle. Two-race groups, by contrast, draw members from both sides of the line. They tend to create an ideal educational situation, for they bring people together, force a justive interaction. Group-action goals, if they are achieved, would further a unified society, a social order based on individual worth. In nonracial groups, interaction is on a personal basis, with this person liked, that one disliked. Race is neither a privilege nor a handicap; it is personality that counts.

Each of these three kinds of groupings is, in effect, an orientation toward social change; hence each implies leadership. While we doubt if leaders can be scaled as readily as some writers claim, the

⁴ Clarence E. Glick, "Collective Behavior in Race Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 13: 287-294, 1948.

scale idea is a handy schema in which to discuss a range of types. Reading from "right" to "left," there are at least five ways in which ideas and actions are organized.

The *reactionary* asks that a study-action group face toward the past, that it seek to re-create conditions which have gone. In race relations, this might mean a rigorous enforcement of white dominance and Negro subserviency. It might connote violence on the one side without counterviolence on the other. We have seen it take the form of the "good old days," the days which really were not so good if one took time to analyze them.

The *conservative* wishes to hold a disintegrating color line, to preserve *status quo* values as best he can. He knows that changes are in process, that they are likely to continue, but he does not want them to get out of hand, his hand. A great many good-will groups are of this sort, honest people and prominent ones who deplore bickering and strife, who want everybody to be friendly, decent, and kind. These are, perhaps, the gentle people of prejudice who, more than any other element in a population, fasten this great evil on the land.

The *liberal* can be thought of as a middle-of-the-roader. Like the *radical*, he is pointed toward ideal public policy, that is, equality of opportunity, basic human rights, fair play regardless of race. Unlike the radical, he believes that change is a time-taking process, that it must be planned. The liberal is the typical "yes, but—" person, always a little on the fence. Yes, he is for this specific change action, *but* have these consequences been taken into account? He is, in his way, a calculator of risks, opposing often the long shot, the big chance. The most serious criticism we can make of him is the idea that little steps defeat big ones.

The *revolutionist* differs from the *radical* in two significant ways. One is the extremeness of his thought as seen from any point toward the right. The other is his tendency to resort to force if peaceful methods fail or are felt to be of no avail. That is, he does not work within the rules established for promoting change but, on the contrary, breaks them in order to remake them, to restructure society as he wills. One might call the revolutionist a radical in a hurry, a liberal gone berserk, a "true believer" charismatic or otherwise.⁵

⁵ For example, Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*, Harper, 1951.

TEACHER-LEADER FUNCTIONS

Let us return to the teacher-leader role, connect it with what has just been said. We imagine that there are many teacher-leader functions, depending on the degree of specificity one wants. The two we have in mind are very broad, covering much if not all an intergroup educator's work. *One is to help all kinds of leaders to develop; the other is to lead.* Before thinking about each of these roles, let us see how they get mixed up. Here is an experience that many students and their teachers have had.

Leaders Help Leaders

A student came in and asked if he could speak with me. I said, "Of course, go ahead." He replied that it would take a little time, and we made an appointment for a conference. He came next day on the dot, yet was reluctant to begin. It was evident that something was bothering him, something deep down. Finally, he blurted out, "Well, Prof, you know I am a radical." I shook my head. "No, I didn't know," waiting for him to continue. "What are you radical about?" His reply was race, and I remarked that that was fine. At this the student flushed, exclaiming that it was all pretty serious with him. I assured him that I had not taken his word lightly, after which he came to the point.

What he said I can, in effect, summarize. He knew, as he repeated a time or two, that I was *not* radical, and things I had said in class had disturbed him a great deal. He liked the course and wanted to continue his studies with me. In sum, he was uncertain about my attitudes.

Clearly, it was time to get down to cases. I told him in detail about some work in an urban school system where some good things had been done for Negroes. "Now," I said, "do you know how these changes came about?" I explained to him that about two weeks ago a Mr. X, the most radical race man in town, had gone to the superintendent of schools on this same business. Mr. X asked for more, much more, than could be given. One word led to another and there was a heated argument. I came along later on, asked for less, and got it.

I asked the student then if he could see how Mr. X had helped me, if he could see how, on occasion, leaders appear to work together? Of course, leaders work at cross-purposes also, so that this situation cannot be generalized. Actually, the superintendent was glad I had showed up, so that I credit Mr. X for a part of what we got. On the other hand, X should credit me with moving up on him. If he is to be a radical, he will have to move on.

We would not push the concluding part of this incident too far, though we have seen this very thing happen. The main point we want in the case is a clear understanding of the professor's double role. On the one hand, a teacher has the responsibility of helping different kinds of leaders to develop, to perfect their art. On the other hand, we hope that teachers undertake leadership outside their classrooms, that they work at it. If they do this, they cannot lead in all directions. They must point their work toward some moral goal, some concept of what is good for people, their entitlements and ideals. This is a value issue, as we shall presently try to show.

It is at this point that many reputable academicians are handicapped in their work with community change-action groups. If given a study job to do, they do it well, in truth, may be expert. But beyond this, they are lost. They toy with a decision, load it with scientific bric-a-brac, dress the issue in ornate phrasings, cover it with if-then assumptions, argue that it might be this way or be that way. Some of these professors have won the reputation of being simply otherwise. They are, in sum, not action men. They have carried their classroom manner, their academic role, into a situation where it does not fit.

VALUES AND SCIENCE

The big issue in what has just been said, the central problem to many teacher-leaders in and out of intergroup relations, is the question of moral and ethical values. Is social science, or can it ever be, value free? Scholars fire volleys at one another on this issue, shots calculated to lay an opponent low, to skin his hide off.⁶ One scientist will read another out of the party for reasons that may be much more ingenious than they seem.⁷ All in all, the behaviors one can observe are anything but value-free, but there is protocol for even that. When the man of learning goes man hunting, he puts on another hat. This permits him to fire as he pleases, to zero in on anyone. He behaves now as a citizen (*sic*), not as a scientist, a rationalization he is loathe to scrutinize.

⁶ An example is George A. Lundberg, "Science, Scientists, and Values," *Social Forces*, 30: 373-379, 1951. See Read Bain's replies in "The Scientist and His Values," *Social Forces*, 31: 106-109, 1952, and in "What Is This Crisis?," *Philosophy of Science*, 20: 22-30, 1953.

⁷ See outgoing party-leader E. Faris on incoming party-leader T. Parsons in *American Sociological Review*, 18: 103, 1953, a caustic book review.

Teachers need to understand the relation of values to science, a topic much too big for us to do any more with than to open up. First, there is little or no controversy on two points. (1) Values are objects of scientific study; in fact, a great deal of social research seeks to find out what people value. (2) Scientists value science and will do whatever they can to promote science. Bain has put this point so well that we shall quote:

When a man acts as a scientist, he is bound by the most austere morality. He will not falsify data; he will process all data by the rigorous rationale of science; he will publish his results; he will gladly change his views when new evidence warrants it, he will not violate law or ethics to advance research; he will aid colleagues in every possible way; he will act like a lobbyist and publicity agent for the advancement of science. By his calling, he is inescapably moral and ethical; he promotes values that promote science and opposes values that harm science.⁸

This is the scientist at his best, the high priest of a high calling. But alas, scientists are people; they are human. We do not know that they take their theology any more—or any less—seriously than do other callings, yet there are dissenters within the ranks, schisms in their church. This is not news, not anything to get disturbed about, for it has always been true. Science arose in criticism; it exists in criticism; and if criticism died, science would cease to exist, cease to advance.

To get back to values, the real disagreements among scientists are two: the presence of moral values in science, hence in teaching and research; and second, what to do about them, how to bring them under control.

The first point, that of values in science, is denied by the “pure” scientist, a person who stresses the disinterestedness, the objectivity and rationality of his craft. All applied scientists, along with what would appear to be a growing number of “pure” ones, take an opposite view. For example, moral values are affirmed by two currently vigorous schools, the “knowledge-for-whatevers”⁹ and the “confess-your-biases”¹⁰ point of view. State your views, thus put yourself and others on guard.

There is a rather clear-cut way by which a student can inquire into this issue, reach a decision on it. This is to consider science

⁸ Read Bain, “Action Research and Group Dynamics,” *Social Forces*, 30: 3, 1951.

⁹ Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton University Press, 1948.

¹⁰ Gunnar Myrdal et al., *An American Dilemma*, pp. 1035 ff., Harper, 1944.

(research) as a psychological act. Like any act, it has a beginning, a middle, and an end. How do moral values figure in each stage of the process? Obviously, one's values are involved when he selects this topic to study rather than that, when out of many possibilities he indicates a preference. The same reasoning holds for the way in which he treats his findings. If he publishes them, that is moral, just as if he were to suppress them in whole or in part. Should he wish only to advance science, that also is a moral act.

It is in the middle part of the act, the study designing and data processing phases, that "value impartiality" should in theory prevail. But even here, science is not value free, not in any basic sense. For example, what is meant by "level of confidence," a phrase dear to statisticians? Why is the acceptable level ordinarily .01 to .05? Who sets this level? Why not put it in many study areas, say, in cancer research where not much is known as yet, at .50, taking a fifty-fifty chance? It is evident that there is morality here and of a most exacting sort. Science is a court of judgment, setting standards, passing sentences. Whatever one assumes about science, for instance, the more of it the better, these judgments affect us all. Our very life may depend upon these verdicts, upon the *moral decisions* scientists make in their everyday work.

THE TEACHER AS A MODERATE

If a reader will think through the above section and relate it to his teacher-leader role, it will be less of a digression than it may appear to be. At any rate, let us return to the leader problem.

In which leader role can *most* schoolteachers do their most effective intergroup work? Before that can be answered, one would need to ask another question: what kind of an institution is the public school? It is, we judge, pretty much a middle-class culture-transmitting institution, one dealing more and more with all the children of all the people in all the phases of their life. Its officers are not expected, usually not permitted, to be fire-eaters. On the other hand, if they drop behind the times, become too conservative, they are certain to have trouble with young people. In terms of their position, their institutional ties, the average teacher is likely to function best as a *moderate* in matters affecting group life.

What does it mean to be a moderate, say, in race relations? What are the larger, broader advantages of this leader role? What,

especially, are its dangers, its pitfalls and handicaps? While it is late in the chapter to present a complicated case, we feel obliged to do just that. The case is that of Booker T. Washington, a figure every intergroup educator should know a lot about. Professor Cox looks at this distinguished leader (1859? to 1915) in a very critical way.

*Booker T. Washington, an Assessment*¹¹

No Negro leader has been so unfathomable, so controversial, as Booker T. Washington. Almost every study of the Negro in the United States has had to inquire into his leadership. Washington has written a great deal about himself, and there are many writings about him. While his critics are numerous, there is no definitive analysis of his leadership. We shall attempt to present a specific typology of his role.

First, it is necessary to define a leader, to distinguish him from persons who have eminence. A leader of a people may be thought of as "one devotedly concerned with what he conceives to be their common lot." He will not merely admit or concede the justice of that cause, but on the contrary, he will become the most ardent advocate of the cause. He will make a "significant appeal to Negro people to follow his program in the resolution of that cause." This leader may have many personal idiosyncracies or may become involved in lateral issues, but these behaviors are secondary to the "dominant tendency" as just stated.

Thus, neither the development of Tuskegee Institute, the advocacy of thriftiness and industrial training, nor the sponsoring of social services among Negroes, is sufficient to delineate Washington as an outstanding leader. It is the "way he relates himself to the Negro cause that defines him as a leader"

To understand the emergence of Washington, the social situation must be sketched. After the Civil War, as the New South began to shape up, its leadership sought peace and financial alliance with the ruling class of the North. The South's most gifted spokesman, Henry Grady, explained the bond between regions which is still effective: "In her industrial growth, the South is daily making new friends. Every dollar of Northern money invested in the South gives us a new friend in that section. . . . We shall secure from the North more friendliness . . . more champions, through the influence of our industrial growth than through political aspiration and achievement." As of about 1890, Grady defined the position of the New South on the Negro question as follows:

1. The two races must remain separate. "What God hath separated, let no man join together."

¹¹ Based on Oliver C. Cox, "The Leadership of Booker T. Washington," *Social Forces*, 30: 91-97, 1951. No summary of this article can be fully satisfactory. The study should be read in its entirety.

2. Whites are the superior race. The two races should be let alone to work out their respective destinies.
3. Negroes should be kept out of political life. That is, whites must have political control.
4. Whites will continue to maintain a social system which monopolizes wealth, education, and opportunity.
5. Since white prosperity depends in part on Negroes, they should be given freedom to advance themselves, especially in doing farm work.
6. Southern Negroes are prospering and contented. Outside interference merely produces friction and irritations.
7. Negroes and their white masters understand each other. There is a broad and deep friendliness between them.
8. A type of cooperative Negro leader is developing. "We are attaching to us," said Grady, "the best elements of that race, and as we proceed our alliance will broaden."

This suggests in part the social situation to which Washington was heir. The term "Uncle Tom" does not fit him, for he was no passive figure, tamed, obsequious. Nor can he be called a true "compromise" leader, for this leader is at heart acting against discrimination, working for its removal. He makes concessions but only for the occasion, and he can never be fully trusted by the white ruling class. Washington is more the "collaborator," an active advocate of the purposes of the dominant group. This type of leader "must be exceedingly well versed in subtleties because, though he is at heart antagonistic to his people's cause, he must appear to be their champion." It was in this sense that Guy B. Johnson observed, "Washington was in some respects a greater leader of white opinion than of Negro opinion."

It was Washington's famous Atlanta address that brought him into prominence. His significant assertions in this address "not only echoed the expressed racial philosophy of the New South" but also "incisively reproved the Negro for his being concerned with the crucial reservation of the ruling class—political power." In more detail, Washington's views were these:

1. Negroes and whites should remain separate, *i.e.*, without social equality. "The wisest among my race," to quote directly, "understands that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly."
2. Negroes should not look for help outside of the South. They should "cast down their buckets where they are," that is, accept the proffered friendship of Southern whites.
3. "Ignorance and inexperience" have caused Negroes to rely upon the right to vote as a way of solving their problems. Suffrage may come

in good time, but it should not be let to interfere with economics and education.

4. The Negro must learn that his main business in the South is the job of a common laborer. He should dignify this role, do his work as well and as contentedly as possible.
5. Negroes have always been loyal servants, and they will continue to be devoted. As they have proved their loyalty to white masters in the past, so will they do in the future.
6. In concluding, Washington made his famous pledge of submissive allegiance. "I pledge that, in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race."

Even at that date, any man who could speak to Negroes in this manner and still induce them to seem pleased "must surely be possessed of some rare genius." As for the whites, Washington says that "Governor Bullock rushed across the platform and took [him] by the hand, and . . . others did the same." Newspapers began a campaign of "lilting mythmaking" as to Washington's ability. The latter soon became a "tireless advocate and confidant of powerful alliances of Southern and Northern financial interests."

Nevertheless, Washington was a troubled man. His fear was "undoubtedly that of provoking the Negro people too far." Indeed, his admission before going to make the Atlanta address that "I felt a good deal as . . . a man feels when he is on his way to the gallows," may have been a Freudian slip. Harsh treatment might have been meted out to him by militant Negroes had the social situation permitted. C. W. Chesnutt accused him of committing a crime against the Negro race. "It is not," the latter said, "a pleasing spectacle to see the robbed applaud the robber."

Washington represents, in short, the "collaborative type" of leader. Such leaders are always useful to the ruling class. Among Negroes, they are far more useful, more effective, than among whites. They restrain the Negro's progress toward democracy, controvert his quest for civil rights. While the opportunity for such leadership is still evident in American life, we doubt if any such leader can again rise to Washington's stature. The feeble reaction of the Negro people, which Washington feared, has now grown to such formidable size that this type of leadership can be effectively localized.

In sum, Washington's leadership should be thought of as "spurious." He was not a mass leader in the Garvian sense. His function was to control the Negro masses, to deflate them, divert them from their common cause. To justify this action by reference to the times is to ignore the

choices that were possible, to assert that collaboration was inevitable. Slavery produced opportunities for the insurrectionist as well as for the traitor, and so did postwar times. The "times," in this usage, cannot explain any leader type. To give Washington his just dues, the honors whites heaped upon him made him a "heartening symbol to Negro people." His high social status, though conceded by whites for a purpose, "tended to animate a large section of the Negro people."

The common cause of the Negro was, and still is, the acquisition of full civil rights. Frederick Douglass taught this long before Washington's climb to fame. "Human nature," Douglass said, "is so constituted that it cannot honor a helpless man, though it can pity him, and even this it cannot do for long if signs of power do not arise." In 1866, Douglass addressed a convention in Philadelphia. "I was called forward," he has said, "and responded with all the energy of my soul, for I looked upon suffrage to the Negro as the only measure which could prevent him from being thrust back into slavery." Douglass saw the imperative need for the ballot. He saw that "somebody in the South will want that vote and will offer the terms upon which it can be obtained."

In this study, Washington is seen as a "collaborative" leader, more of a leader of white thought and action than of Negro thought and action. An exact quote seems to us to sum up Cox's basic point of view.

The collaborator, of course, cannot be in conflict with the dominant power, for his significance as a leader depends entirely upon that power. . . . To oppose the collaborator is to oppose the dominant power itself, and for this reason those who opposed Washington ordinarily realized that their bread and butter had become involved. The mass leader [protest leader] is utterly void of this sort of influence. . . . Since the collaborator's program and advocacy is essentially that of the ruling class, he is protected from failure. He is not only given wide publicity as a phenomenal leader but also made an intercessor between his group and the dominant class.

For years to come, this view of Washington is likely to be debated. Differences of opinion will rest not so much on what the subject did or didn't do but rather on his values, immediate and long run, his visions and his dreams.

Washington did not protest discrimination. He did not advocate full and immediate equality. He made all manner of concessions to white power interests. He spoke at times with equal harshness about illiterate, improvident members of his race and about its

educated, militant leaders. He cannot stand, therefore, as a symbol of free-thinking Negro Americans, not as Frederick Douglass can.

But why did Washington do these things? What, ultimately, did he have in mind. Myrdal¹² is one of many writers who states that "It is wrong to characterize Washington as an all-out accommodating leader. He never relinquished the right to full equality in all respects as the ultimate goal." Whatever the truth of either the Myrdal or the Cox point of view, the case will have served its chief purpose from our standpoint if it causes students to reflect now and later, throughout their life, on the moderate's leader role, the moral limits within which he can act.

The moderate, to repeat again, is not radical enough for radicals but much too radical for conservatives. He is the middleman, shot at from both sides. If he expects uniform agreement with his views, if he must have fulsome praise to keep him going, then he had better abandon any notions he may have as to a leader role. He is a person, as was said, in between. He mistrusts the harmony boys, the ubiquitous good-willers, the unreasoned cooperators. And yet he must do business with them, as he must do business with the *avant gardists*. His dilemma is not so much psychological, assuming his personal honesty, as it is ideological. It stems from and adheres in the very nature of ideals. Ideals are like the donkey's carrot, always in sight yet seldom, it seems, in reach. If one does reach them, new ideals emerge and stretch on ahead. The problem of the moderate is to keep moving forward.

For our part, our stand has been on human rights, the legal entitlements of all citizens, and beyond this on democratic ideals, our aspirations for a better way of life. "The democratic faith," writes Biddle,¹³ "is the hardest faith . . . for it is necessarily skeptical, opposed to fanaticism, based on compromise, turned toward tolerance, welcoming variety and diversity in life."

PROMINORITY OR IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST?

From time to time, we have affirmed the public good as our point of view. Have we hewed to this line? Are we really promminority in, say, Part Three? To gather evidence on this and weight it would, we suspect, make an interesting classroom study-group review. The issue is also of theoretical interest.

¹² Gunnar Myrdal *et al.*, *An American Dilemma*, p. 739, Harper, 1944.

¹³ Francis Biddle, *The Fear of Freedom*, p. 195, Doubleday, 1952.

Young feels that sociologists as scientists have leaned much too far toward prominority views and values. "In the field of majority-minority groups," he says, "we have messed around trying to rationalize rather than to understand conflict and intolerance. . . . Most people are afraid to go at the problems honestly because they fear the Jews and Negroes wouldn't like what they find out."¹⁴

Lundberg¹⁵ fully shares Young's views. He charges that sociologists "fail to state in full and publicly what they know and admit privately regarding the sociology of minorities." This is partly because of "fear of attack by minority pressure groups" and partly because of a bias in favor of the underdog. Although the author is sympathetic to this bias, he deplores the "desperate attempts among social scientists to elevate these prejudices or preferences to the dignity of scientific conclusions."

While we can make no summary of Lundberg's data, an incident will suggest the trend of his thought. It will be recalled that Mrs. Roosevelt, on entering the White House, fell heir to a mixed white and Negro kitchen staff. After a time, she dismissed white employees and hired all Negro help. Her reasons were practical, namely, "any one color works in better understanding and maintains a smoother running establishment."¹⁶

Lundberg approves this as a rational act, a step he might himself have taken. And then comes the point at issue. Why dismiss the whites? Why not the Negroes? The discharge of whites caused no comment, whereas the discharge of Negroes "would, in all probability, have precipitated national agitation."

This is, we suppose, a caution against a loose use of the term "prejudice," against jumping to conclusions. It is also a warning against special dealings, special pleadings, for any minority group. Many life situations are so unclear, so undefined, that people may scream when they are not hurt. Hard facts will not support their claims. As for the author's larger point, the charge that the science of sociology has bogged down on this issue, we judge that the claim is extreme. A little evidence has been stretched into quite a lot.

The one thing that has seemed quite certain to us is that anyone,

¹⁴ Kimball Young, in Howard Odum, *American Sociology*, p. 222, Longmans Green, 1951.

¹⁵ Unpublished manuscripts, read at Atlantic City meeting of Science Research Associates, Sept. 2, 1952.

¹⁶ In Henrietta Nesbitt, *White House Diary*, p. 78, Doubleday, 1948. The quote is from Mrs. Nesbitt, who was White House housekeeper.

if he is to act in what he believes to be the public interest, must set limits beyond which he does not care to go. A good test of these limits is the point at which he would quit a job, ask to be replaced. Biracial segregation might be used to illustrate this concluding thought.

We have taught in the South and worked there for many years and hope to continue to do so. We have worked on the West Coast and on Indian reservations. But never, to our knowledge, have we taken part in any school or other program which sought (1) to firm up compulsory segregation where it already existed, or (2) to initiate it *de novo*. The number of jobs from which we have felt obliged to withdraw or from which we have been fired is not, however, very large. Mostly we have had to deal with people who simply wanted to go slow.

Why oppose enforced segregation? First, separate but equal facilities are usually a myth. Where tax dollars are limited, equality seldom exists. Second, it is hard to make clear the real meaning of segregation. For instance, if two schools face each other across a road or a street and if white pupils go to one school and Negro pupils to the other, there is no racial equality even if the schools are identical in every physical way. The Negro school is judged inferior by the white community. It is likely to be judged inferior by the Negroes. Why? The reason is that Negroes are compelled to attend their school, *with the compulsion coming from whites*.

This, then, is the meaning of enforced segregation. Any people who go to inferior schools because they have to go, who patronize any kind of closed institution, are judged by the larger community to be an inferior people no matter how wrong this judgment is, how much the people protest. Is this a promminority viewpoint? An antimajority viewpoint? Our one suggestion is that, *for the common good*, the public weal, it is time to get rid of color bars.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. If there is enough time left in your course, set up a "confusion corner" similar to the one in the College Study. Each student might chip in one or more points which bother him, and then the class could try to answer these leftovers.

2. Was it Tennyson who wrote:

Our little systems have their day;
They have their day and cease to be.

Turn back to our Fig. 12. Plan a better outline for an intergroup education course.

3. Prepare a paper to turn in or arrange a panel discussion on the teacher-leader role in intergroup relations.

4. Do you agree with W. F. Ogburn when he says, in his introduction to Brewton Berry, *Race Relations*, "if an emotional or moral judgment has been reached, the door to one's mind is closed to further understanding"? Is one ever to act? When? When all the facts are in? Are all the facts ever in? Is it possible for a teacher to accept Ogburn's advice?

5. How does the Washington case help you to see better the dilemma of the moderate? What limits in working on racial, creedal, or nationality problems have you set for yourself? Be as exact as you can.

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CHAPTER 16

Looking Ahead in Intergroup Work

I sent a message to the fish:
I told them "this is what I wish,"
The little fishes' answer was
"We cannot do it, Sir, because—"

—LEWIS CARROLL

Does the road wind uphill all the way? Yes, to the very end.

—CHRISTINA ROSSETTI

There was no course in intergroup education when we went to college, nothing like the courses now beginning to appear. The best one could do was to take work in sociology, say, in race relations, immigration, and population, which was what some education majors did. As for our professors, the kindest thing to say is that most of them were not interested in change action.

Study and action in respect to race, creed, and national origins has been the central theme of this book, and we might as well end the volume on this same note. Let us write now for students who want to go ahead, who want to learn more about intergroup work. Some will keep on in college, some enter public-school or other teaching, some go to graduate school, to summer workshops and training centers. What kinds of experiences should they seek? While our sampling cannot be complete, it can suggest some promising possibilities.

WORKSHOPS AND LABORATORIES

It has been argued in past chapters that college courses are likely to continue to be the main form of advanced training in intergroup education, that different course patterns have different strengths, that all should be studied and improved. A strong competitor of courses is the workshop or, as some call it a "training

laboratory." In its origins, the workshop was a way of assembling persons (often teachers) from wide-ranging schools and areas, each with a study-action problem on which help was wanted. A staff of experts was brought together to work with students on these problems, and other consultants might be called in as needed. There was much planning by individuals and by small common-interest groups. Relations were kept informal, functional, and adjustable to student needs and interests.

We shall describe now a workshop pattern which looks very promising. While its costs may put this form of training beyond the reach of many colleges, much of its structure and content could be taken over by any workshop group. Our account is based on an analysis by the director of the project, a book well worth reading in its entirety.

An Experimental Intergroup Workshop¹

How can student ideas be translated into change action? How can instruction best be given; that is, how can the gap be bridged between the expert and the school or community practitioner in human relations? Can a brief but intensive workshop secure measured changes in its participants, changes in attitudes, in knowledge, and in skills? These were the major questions to which answers were sought in the intergroup workshop at New Britain, Conn.

Much preplanning went into this small change experiment. After basic purposes were stated, much as in the questions raised above, staff selection was made. Before the date of the workshop, a number of "gear meshing" meetings were held with staff members. In general, three work teams were set up. One consisted of representatives of the sponsoring organizations, their concern being that a good educational job should be done. Another team comprised "study-action trainers," the staff members who conducted the program. The third team was made up of researchers, specialists charged with workshop evaluation. In the initial meetings, these team functions were worked out and coordinated.

In these planning sessions, it was decided that participants should not exceed 50, with 41 actually admitted. Effort was made to interest key persons and, if possible, to enroll them by teams. Four teams of two to eight members were recruited. In respect to all participants, 44 per cent were school people, 34 per cent agency workers, and 22 per cent lay citizens who were engaged in intergroup work. Over a fourth were Negro.

¹ Based on Ronald Lippitt, *Training in Community Relations*, Harper, 1949. This type of training has been carried on in the National Training Laboratory in Group Development, which we shall discuss later in the chapter.

About a fourth were Jewish, and about 15 per cent were Catholics. The remainder were white Protestants.

Before and immediately after enrollment, various kinds of background data were collected on these participants, for example, on their years of service in school or community work, on their training, interests, and problems. All in all, it was felt that these persons were above average in their ability to influence change action in their respective areas and positions.

An interesting account of day-by-day workshop activities is given in the diary of a workshopper, a schoolteacher. At the first all-workshop meeting, this student was made to feel very welcome. Her feeling was that a serious effort would be made over the 2-week period to solve the problems which students felt to be important, and that data would be gathered by which to gauge success or failure. On that first morning, a "role practice" session was held to demonstrate good and bad ways of doing group work. During the afternoon, half the students took a paper and pencil test on how they would go about solving an array of problems in human relations, while the other half listed the problems on which they wanted help. The groups then changed rooms, each repeating what the other group had done. That evening the diary writer noted the staff at work on planning problems, with the students free to do whatever they chose.

On the next day, the first session gave practice training in how to use the expert, to keep him on your questions. This was followed by a meeting with a group of visiting specialists. "There was," the diary records, "too much sitting and listening," suggesting that the workshopers had not yet learned how to keep their concerns central, to ask for and receive assistance. Later meetings that day did little to change this situation, with the writer expressing her annoyance at the "silly" questions asked by workshopers. That evening some students dropped in "by accident" at the staff meeting, after which this became a joint affair.

During the third day, things really got going. After a general session on common problems, small interest-groups were organized. In the writer's group, the concern was how to interest the public in intergroup problems. Most of the time was spent on role playing, with demonstrations of how to work with people. In the afternoon, role practice sessions centered on ways of trying to end biracial segregation, with students trying out ideas that appealed to them. Discussions were put on a recording machine for later analysis by the evaluation team.

The fourth day was pretty much the same as the third. Most group discussions centered on theory issues, for instance, the "strategy of planning," and practice sessions were spent on learning group work skills. The rise of tensions within workshop units was noted, so that time was taken to work on them. "Back-home" planning was begun on the fifth

day and continued until the workshop ended. It consisted mostly of real-life situations, with students demonstrating what they would do in order to solve them. The final day was spent in hearing summaries by individuals and teams of what they planned to do.

Workshop evaluation was of special interest to the New Britain staff. While we cannot detail staff methods, their findings will suggest some of the procedures which were used.

The average student spent 86 hours during the 2 weeks in workshop meetings, excluding mealtime and evening bull sessions. About 38 hours of this total were in general sessions, 38 hours in small group meetings, 8 hours in special meetings called by students, and 2 hours in test periods. The average number of daily participations was 161, two-thirds by students, a third by the staff. Instructors were three times more active in their participations than was the average student. Half to two-thirds of the instructor's participation was given to starting and coordinating group discussion.

While workshop units differed in their time uses, a fourth to a half of all time was spent in developing personal skills, for example, how to interview people, to influence them, to resolve conflict. Other skills comprised fact finding, the diagnosis of problems, the use of mass media, and group leadership.

In order to assess back-home carry-over, three kinds of data were obtained. Six months after the workshop, participants were interviewed and observed in one or more of their work pursuits. Second, a co-worker, someone who knew the workshop student intimately, was interviewed, also by a staff member. Third, the state committee, one of the workshop sponsors, kept a record of contacts with participants over a 6-month interval.

In comparing pre- and post-job practices, a striking increase in intergroup activities was found. While these rates of change were extremely variable, workshopppers spent much more time in old work pursuits, and a number had entered at times had organized—new activities. Lip-pitt credits the work-team idea, along with the workshop training, for these outcomes.

As to other changes, over two-thirds of the workshopppers said they had developed a broader view of intergroup problems, plus a deeper, more personal responsibility in working on these issues. Half their co-workers affirmed the truth of these training effects. Well over half the workshopppers claimed that they had been motivated to work harder, an effect confirmed by four-fifths of their co-workers. Over 40 per cent reported skills learnings, a claim supported by 67 per cent of their co-workers. A tenth cited changes in their own attitudes toward more liberal

views, a result affirmed by about a fifth of their co-workers. A fifth cited new confidence in themselves, in their ability to do intergroup education, a self-estimate supported by 15 per cent of their colleagues.

The New Britain workshop was, we believe, a truly experimental venture. It provided far more skill training than does an average workshop, tremendously more than does the usual college class. Work was kept at a high technical level, and evaluation went much beyond the reports commonly made on workshops. Efforts to assess back-home effects are commendable, yet Lippitt points out limitations in the data gathered. Having talked with some of these participants and worked with them on school or other jobs, we know that this workshop got results. The only criticism these students offered was that assessment got in the way at times of training processes, that is, interfered with major workshop goals.

Workshops are common now; in fact, almost every college would seem to have them. Some are short term, some function the year around.² Some are on campus, some off campus at school or other centers. The summer continues to be a favorite time for workshops in human relations. While no pattern is typical in exact detail, the one followed by the National Training Laboratory in Group Development is perhaps representative of current trends.³

A Workshopper's Day

9:00-10:00 Theory Session. General session in which methods of large group leadership are used to lay a foundation for the day's group experiences and practice sessions.

10:00-12:00 T (Training) Groups. Each participant is a member of a small face-to-face clinic group that meets five times a week for "how to do it" practice sessions.

12:00-1:00 Luncheon.

1:30-3:30 Skill Groups. Learning specialized action-group skills, in accordance with participant interest and need.

3:45-6:00 Recreation.

7:15-8:00 C (Community) Groups. Unstructured, informal, student-centered groups, which meet to share common concerns.

8:15-9:45 General Session. Usually two a week, at which the entire laboratory enrollment takes part in large-audience activities, such as assessing a movie or conducting a town meeting.

² For example, Earl C. Kelley, *The Workshop Way of Learning*, Harper, 1951.

³ Sponsored by the National Education Association and the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan. Summer sessions have been held since 1947.

All workshops, if they are truly workshops, personalize instruction. Learning becomes a way of living together within a rather flexible schedule of individual study, small and large group meetings. These factors, along with a very low ratio of students to instructors, make this kind of education expensive. It could scarcely thrive were it not for scholarships and other grants-in-aid.

CENTERS OF HUMAN RELATIONS

A recent development in the intergroup field have been college and university centers of human relations. These centers overlap chairs of human relations, departments and committees, so that we shall attempt no exact distinction. In general, a center is a group of permanent staff members, each a specialist in some study-action field. The group functions in a year-around program of on-campus education and off-campus services to schools, communities, and the like. Impetus for the establishment of centers has come in part from national intergroup agencies, for example, from the National Conference of Christians and Jews.⁴

While centers differ in every conceivable way, the organization at New York University will illustrate the center idea.

*N.Y.U. Center for Human Relations Studies*⁵

The Center for Human Relations Studies is an integral unit in the School of Education, being listed as a curriculum of that school. It is founded on the conviction that the development of skills in human relations is the "new frontier" in education. The Center was established in 1947, at the instigation of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, New York City. For a time, the Bureau and the Center had the same director, but each organization came to need its own administrative head. In general, the Bureau stresses field service and the distribution of literature, whereas the Center puts major emphasis on leader training in the intergroup field.

The Center has its own budget, with part of its upkeep paid from student fees. The balance is provided by the Bureau, along with grants from individual donors and foundations. At the date of survey, eight professional persons were on the Center staff, chiefly from education, psychology, mental health, and sociology. Only one, the director, was full

⁴ See Everett R. Clinchy, *Intergroup Relations Centers*, Farrar, Straus, and Young, 1949.

⁵ One of several cases in Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, Chap. 8, *Leader Training in Centers and Workshops*, American Council on Education, 1951.

time in Center work, the others giving part time to university teaching. Per capita student costs were about twelve times those of the university as a whole, so that fund raising at that date was an ever-pressing problem.

Basic Center aims then and now comprise leader training in school and community work, the conduct of "action research" projects, the diffusion of knowledge and techniques, and an extensive school consultant service. The Center takes pride in its close contact with ongoing intergroup programs in the nation, in its practical approach to change problems, and in its ability to bring various academic viewpoints to bear upon issues of concern.

All students are graduates, with some years of experience in school and other intergroup work. They are limited in number and are degree candidates as a rule, mostly for the doctoral degree. They are registered in the School of Education and must meet formal university requirements. Only a few are full time, some of these being on scholarships. Most students work part time in school, agency, and other jobs. Placement follows training in so far as that is possible, as in any university placement service.

In respect to instruction, most staff time is given to informal, problem-centered courses, with clinics and seminars predominating. Students also take regular university courses, and they are expected to give considerable time to field projects. The teamwork idea, a joint project by students and one or more professors, is highly favored. Staff members and advanced students serve as consultants to schools and colleges. These latter activities are self-sustaining.

The Center stresses its in-process assessments of student growth. Descriptive and other records are kept on students. Appraisals are made at staff conferences, and students are guided in their own self-evaluation. Follow-up studies after placement are used to improve leader-training work.

Here is a type of teacher-leader training which many graduate students might regard as well fitted to their needs. Studies are less academic than in some centers, and emphasis is on teaching rather than on research. Professors represent different fields of knowledge, though N.Y.U. Center emphasis is predominately on a child-guidance approach to problems of living. Community study is central, and staff interests range over many kinds of change issues.

INSERVICE "SCHOOL PROBLEMS" COURSES

We have spoken so far about students who have the time, or feel that they must take the time, to do graduate work. Let us think in this and in other sections about the teacher on the job.

It is becoming more and more common for colleges of education to conduct work in school centers. Whatever the form this work takes, it tends to deal with practical school problems. A familiar example is the problem-solving type of course.

Solving School Problems in Human Relations

I am a first-year teacher in the Maynard Schools, and I shall tell about a course which I have just taken. There were 34 of us [teachers] in this course, and our work is credited at Wayne toward an M.A. degree.

On the first evening, the professor spoke briefly about school problems in human relations, after which he asked that we list the problems in which we were interested. These covered, I think, seven different areas, as follows: classroom order, individual deviants, school-home cooperation, individual guidance, interracial relations, social-class backgrounds, and staff relations.

At our next meeting, we organized by small groups to work on these problems. It happened that only two other teachers took the problem of most interest to me, that of teacher-principal relations. I should have said that my school is a mixed school, about half white, half Negro. My principal is white and I am a Negro.

We kept together that evening as one large group in order to talk about how we were going to work. A library of books, pamphlets, films, etc., had been set up in the school, and the professor went over most of these materials with us.

Starting with our third meeting, we met in small work groups. Whenever a group wanted help, the professor would be called in. He would listen to our ideas and then tell us what he thought or where we could find what we wanted. All but one group met a time or two each week, ahead of class.

Our next general session, or rather two sessions, was on the topic of how do people work in groups. I guess there had been some trouble in some of the groups, members disagreed and like that. We took a number of cases and talked about how the conflicts could have been solved, what these persons might have said and done to get good teamwork.

Since the above is fairly routine work, we shall not report several pages of this student paper but go on to the last third of the course. For these sessions, the class met as a group and each work team made a report.

Our teams took different ways of making their reports. Most groups had prepared a written report, which was then discussed. One group interviewed three guests whom they had invited, an Urban League man, a

man from the NAACP, a woman, the educational director of the NCCJ. Our report took the form of a sociodrama, an idea that came from an article on "complacency shock" which we had read.

First, we introduced our guest, a principal from a Detroit school. After explaining that we had been studying faculty meetings, we said that we had invited him to meet with us in order to get his ideas on how these meetings could be improved. We said that, first, we wanted him to listen to some teacher talk. We said that these teachers are from the X School and that he was the principal of this school. Here is what we asked him to do:

"You are Mr. Jones, principal of the X School. You have just put in a new intercommunication system in your school. You are sitting now in your office at your desk (*principal takes a seat behind a table at the side of the room but in front of the class*). You want to tune in a certain room and you turn the switch. By mistake, you are connected with the teachers' lounge. You recognize the voices of some teachers and you listen. They are talking about a faculty meeting you have called for that afternoon."

After this, five of us (two members added to our group) took seats on chairs in front of the class. We were to play the parts of the teachers in the lounge. We had heard enough of schoolteacher talk so that we didn't organize this, just let it run free. I think our discussion went about like this:

A: Gosh, another faculty meeting. Hope we get out on time.

B: I don't know if I'll go. I got some work to do, and it's such a waste of time.

A: Well, you'd better go. You're new here, huh?

B: Yes. But I think it's OK to cut once in a while.

C: You think! You know what a teacher gets when she cuts or sneaks?

B: No, what?

C: Gets bawled out. May get extra hall duty, too. Anything that way.

D: That I agree. So what? So we got to go.

A: It's still a waste, like B said. Announcements could be posted or sent around. No need to hear them read. And Old Jones's pep talks! They're thick, I'd say. Wonder if he believes them himself?

D: No, I don't think so. It's his line. It never changes year to year.

C: And another thing. You can't discuss anything. You can't disagree with Old Jones. He runs the school.

A: I think he wants to be democratic.

C: Democratic, my eye! The place is full of stooges. How do you think that little blonde is getting on so fast?

This will show how the scene went. At first the principal was embarrassed, and his face got very red. And then he smiled, followed by a

laugh. The class was in stitches, and they stimulated us I guess to say things we hadn't meant to say, all true though of teacher private talk. Anyhow, we finished this in about ten minutes and then opened the problem for discussion.

We asked the principal to discuss the sociodrama, to tell us if teachers on the average were like those we had improvised. He admitted that we were "pretty near correct," that most faculty meetings were dull. He then outlined what he thought should be done about these meetings, ways to improve them. We all chipped in on this.

I think the best point the principal made was on us. E, the fifth member of our group, had not said a word in the sociodrama. The principal said that too many teachers were like that, silent partners, maybe just silent. Either they were afraid to talk, to express their views, or else they didn't care about the school, wanted to dodge all the work they could. We asked him if a teachers' union made any difference, and he said he didn't know about that. He added that he had an AFL teachers' union in his school.

While sociodrama is no standard part of inservice problem-solving courses, it has several advantages. One of its functions is to loosen up people by immersing them in lifelike situations, thus to stimulate feelings and ideas. Second, it gives unique skill training in role playing, a valuable learning in all manner of human relations. Third, it can penetrate deeply into tensional issues because people are not themselves, so to speak. By representing other persons, they objectify attitudes and practices which might be difficult to discuss head on.

INSERVICE EXPERIMENTAL PROJECTS

Another type of inservice training consists of experimental studies in which teachers take an active part. Much was said in Chapter 3 about the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project, and it might be well now if we would take an example of experimentation from this work. The aim of the project staff was to change teacher attitudes toward race, creed, and national origins.

An Experiment in Teacher Reeducation⁶

The experimental problem was to create two types of teaching patterns and then to study their effects on the children and teachers who

⁶ Based on Helen C. Trager and Marion Radke Yarrow, *They Learn What They Live*, pp. 231-353, Harper, 1952. This experiment is so complex, and so important, that it should be read in its entirety.

participated in them. One type, the *X* type, was defined as "cultural democracy," or "cultural pluralism;" and the other, the *Y* type, as "cultural monism," or the "melting-pot" idea as found in American life. The first pattern was democratic, dynamic, and evolving, with a liberal "do unto others" philosophy. The second was based on current ways of treating people, involving ingroup prejudices and discriminations. It was static, status preserving.

More concretely, both types of teachers saw the world as made up of different peoples, were aware of intergroup conflict, and believed in "democratic human relations." Each believed that the social function of intergroup education was the fullest development of the individual, and each sought to harmonize group differences. The *X*-type teacher wanted change toward liberal ideals, regarded it as normal and inevitable. The *Y*-type teacher justified majority-group dominance and felt that minority individuals should accept this rule and adjust to it. The *X* teacher would educate against prejudice, the *Y* teacher condone it as a part of the American system.

Subjects were 101 children, Grades 1 and 2, from four of the Project's public schools. These children were matched as to race, creed, sex, and socioeconomic status and assigned to three divisions. Two of these groupings were experimental, *X* and *Y* respectively, and the other was a control, the *Z* group. Each experimental division was broken into small clubs or classes, the basic units of instruction. The teachers, four in number, were from these same unselected schools. While they were regular classroom teachers, none had had contact with the experimental pupils.

The procedure was for each teacher to conduct two of the clubs or classes, one to be taught in terms of *X* values, the other by *Y* values. This required of each instructor a daily and complete reversal of role, a novel feature of the experiment. All teachers were instructed to make as indirect an approach as possible to pupil attitudes and practices, that is, not to deal head on with prejudice and discrimination. Training sessions were held to clarify these teacher roles, and two experienced observers were assigned to each classroom to record pertinent data. Data were also secured by interviews with the children and by pre- and end-tests.

In all classes, the "neighborhood" was the focus of attention, how people live, the work they do, the way they celebrate holidays, their forms of worship, getting along with neighbors, and other topics suitable to first- and second-grade levels. Pupils took area trips, talked with residents, read stories, heard recordings, gave parties, played games, and sang songs. In *X* classes, to repeat, the aim was to liberalize attitudes, to teach understanding and acceptance. *Y* classes were designed to foster the ingroup views which children had acquired in life experience.

How did the project turn out? "The experiment," write the authors,

"had a measurable effect upon the attitudes and behaviors of children and of teachers in both *X* and *Y* clubs." Experimental classes "moved in expected directions, that is, toward *X* and *Y* values, and at the end differed significantly from one another and from the control group." Measured changes in the children include the following:

1. Unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes among *X* subjects decreased from 46 to 23 per cent, a significant gain in friendliness. *Y* and *Z* children appeared by pre-test scores to be a little more friendly toward Negroes than were the *X* pupils, but there was no gain in their mean scores. If anything, anti-Negro feelings increased during the experiment.
2. In their reactions to Catholics, both *X* and *Y* pupils showed marked decreases in acceptance attitudes, with high increases in ambivalence and hostility. *X* pupils, for example, had a 66 per cent acceptance score in pre-tests and a 49 per cent score in end-tests. "This is the only instance," the authors note, "in which findings from *X* classes run counter to *X* philosophy."
3. In respect to Jewish people, *X* pupils changed from 37 to 51 per cent acceptance, and from 40 to 26 per cent rejection. Changes in *Y* children were from 42 to 24 per cent, and from 36 to 45 per cent. The per cent of extreme rejection, though always small, increased in both pupil groups, representing perhaps only an increased freedom of expression.
4. In tests on the meaning of "American," the number of *X* subjects who saw the nation as a composite of many races, creeds, and nationalities grew from 29 to 40 per cent of the total. In *Y* clubs, the decrease was from 42 to 36 per cent.

Of greater interest to us was the effect of the experiment on the teachers. It will be recalled that these teachers were to play contradictory roles. "Do you mean," a teacher asked, "that you'll tell us what to do and we'll just act out our parts?" When it was explained that the idea was a bit more complex, that role content would have to be worked out, teacher anxiety mounted. Training practice sessions were held once a week before and during the experiment. At these meetings, it was stressed that teachers take at one time the *X* role, at another time the *Y* role, "but at no time is the teacher her real self, free to do as she pleases."

Once teachers understood that they faced a creative work task, there was much talk about *X* and *Y* philosophies. No teacher felt under attack because of her teaching methods, nor was someone in authority exhorting her to change. The job was to devise learning activities and, so far as possible, perfect them in tryouts ahead of experimental use. It was harder to give content to *X* roles than to *Y* roles, for as a teacher remarked, "More teachers are *Y* than *X*."

While no statistical data are given on changes in these teachers, descriptive reports show that changes did occur. First, teachers became aware that *X* and *Y* methods were having effects on pupils. In *Y* classes especially, racial and creedal stereotypes caused acute discomfort to minority pupils, leading to pronounced aggression or withdrawal on their part. In *X* classes, teachers noticed that children resisted equalitarian viewpoints as contrary to the views they had already learned, the inter-group practices they saw in area life. Second, a feeling of concern developed and deepened with time. As one teacher put it, "What can be done to undo the harm we are doing to *Y* children?" Third, teachers came to a decision as to their future teaching. "This won't end when the experiment is over," said one. "I'm going to have 'clubs' [*X* type, informal teaching] from now on."

Project directors take such attitudinal data—and there is much of it—as evidence of basic changes in these teachers, a judgment in which we fully concur. "All four teachers," to conclude with the authors' words, "were deeply affected by the experiment. It is unlikely, if not impossible, that any one of them will be able to go back to being the kind of teacher she was before." As in all group-process education, the project itself was an experience, a change agent.

Aside from the care which went into planning this experiment, the novel thing about it was the *reversal of teacher role*. By asking that these teachers view the undertaking as experimental, that they take alternative roles and create concrete role content, many of the real barriers to teacher reeducation were swept aside. No one pushed these teachers to improve their teaching methods, to change deep-seated habit patterns. Their motivations were largely self-willed and self-evaluated, tasks of mastery which they set themselves. They had at all times the guidance and encouragement of the project staff. The pay-off came as teachers began to observe their effects on children, especially the negative effects reported from the *Y*-taught groups. If we are ever to change our classroom practices, our habits of many years, it will be—more likely than not—because we see their effects on learners.

UNDERSTANDING PARENTAL PRACTICES

One cannot understand learner behaviors without knowing a great deal about home backgrounds and influences. In the Philadelphia child-study project, teachers spoke repeatedly about parental attitudes, fearing strong resistance to democratic practices

in their schools. While the project did not include an effort to reeducate parents, it took the first step in this direction. That step is the accumulation of reliable data on parents. We shall report now this phase of the Philadelphia project, the assumption being that any school can profit by collecting such data on parental attitudes and practices.

Parental Roles in Children's Attitude Formation⁷

The aims in this phase of the Philadelphia study were to sample parental attitudes, to discover the kinds of education parents gave children, and to determine parental views toward intergroup work in the schools.

Subjects were the parents of pupils in the X-Y-Z school groups, in all, 101 homes. Only two parents refused to be interviewed. The mother, or mother substitute, responded in all but nine cases, where the father was talked with. Of the 99 parents, 29 were Negro and 70 white. Among whites, 30 were Protestant, 25 Catholic, 7 mixed, 7 Jewish, and one had no church affiliation. All Negro families were Protestant. Occupational and educational data show these parents to be lower-middle and lower class, mostly urban factory workers.

Since interviews were to probe into taboo subjects, the interviewers were selected with care and trained. They introduced themselves to parents as representing a national organization which was making a "public opinion study as to how children grow up in America." Negro parents were questioned by a Negro worker, white parents by a white worker. Initial queries were designed to establish a friendly relation, after which talk was directed toward racial and religious groups. Notes were taken on "main points," with parental permission and approval.

A Sample Interview

Subject: A Mother, White, About Thirty Years of Age

Q: Do you think that parents these days bring up children the way they did when you were a child?

A: Oh, yes! They allow girls to run these days—oh yes, indeedie! It's different now.

Q: What are the main problems that parents face in getting children to behave well?

A: I have no problems. They all must obey me. We don't have no trouble about *that*!

Q: Children get into fights with other children. Parents have different ideas about what they should do. What do you think about that?

⁷ Based on Trager and Yarrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-227. This phase of the project was conducted separately from the public school study.

A: Some fight but I don't bother none like that. My girl, she can't go out except she go with me, my husband, or her grandmother. There is so much rape and all these days. And the little one, she stay right in the yard.

Q: Do you think the neighborhood has much influence on your child?

A: I love this more than any place. I was born here.

Q: What kind of neighborhood is best for bringing up children?

A: I'd want a yard, not just steps. I'd want it open, four or five neighbors.

Q: Would you care whether there were different religious or racial groups?

A: Different religions, no indeedie! Different races, oh my God, no! I wouldn't approve! In school yes, but to bring them home I wouldn't approve. The school took her to a party in a machine. She said "Nigger people was eatin' with us and like that, but don't say anything to Daddy." I said "Daddy would sure holler."

Q: Are there any sections of the city you would avoid?

[Answer the same as for neighborhood]

Q: Of course, anywhere in a big city there are going to be different kinds of people. Children meet them and learn about them. Has your child ever asked you questions about different races and religions?

A: No, my husband won't allow no talk about religion! I'm a Lutheran and he's next to Catholic. He's High Episcopal.

Q: Do you think a young child knows that people belong to different races and religions?

A: Yes, Italian Catholic and High Episcopal.

Q: What kinds of things do you think a young child understands about racial and religious groups?

[No answer]

Q: When should a parent explain to a child what groups he belongs to?

A: Just say she is a High Episcopal.

Q: How should a parent explain this?

[No answer]

Q: One mother told that her little boy started asking about Jewish and Christian, and she found it hard to answer him. This boy had heard another boy say, "I'm not going to play with David. He's a Jew." If you were in this mother's place, how would you answer this?

A: Jewish? I only buy off the people. If she should want to marry one, I'd say let her go.

Q: Do you think it good to encourage children to have playmates of other religions or races?

A: Yes, and they can.

Q: Would it make any difference to you if your child's friends were Jewish or Christian? Catholic or Protestant?

A: No.

Q: What if your child brings a Negro child home with him?

A: Now don't you say that!

Q: A teacher told us about a little Catholic girl who showed some other children her crucifix. She said to them, "Only us Catholics go to heaven."

A: The Catholic girl should never a-passed that remark. But I'll tell you the same thing happened to me.

Q: Should a school teach about religions and races and nationalities, like Polish and Italian?

A: No, that's what a church is for.

Q: About different races?

A: No don't say that again. *Don't say it!*

To any teacher who has dealt with urban lower-class mothers, this interview will ring true. Here are the confusions and contradictions one often finds. The woman was quite unself-conscious about herself and the rented home in which she lived. The house sat on a bit of land abutting a city dump. Inside, it was neat and clean, with gay paper on the walls. A sagging doll buggy held a big, expensive doll. The yard was fenced and bordered with tulips. The woman's husband was reported to be making 56 dollars a week at factory work. The interviewee spoke in a loud voice, swore often, and laughed readily. The one thing she could not stand to talk about was race.

Some Interview Findings

Findings from 99 such interviews show much about this sample of urban middle- to lower-class parents.

1. Few parents brought up of their own accord any kind of intergroup problem, though these problems occurred day in and day out in area social life. Exceptions were a few forthright rejections of color and creedal outgroups, notably rejection of Negroes by whites.

2. The controls imposed on children varied. While almost three-fourths of all parents approved the idea of mixed neighborhoods, over half the sample objected to the idea of their child bringing home a Negro child with whom to play. Only a few parents said that religion was a barrier to the choice of playmates. At times, anti-Negro feelings were linked with expressions of guilt, *i.e.*, "I shouldn't a-said that. I know it's a sin." While these urban parents might have been expected to approve segregated school, *66 per cent opposed such schools, that is, favored mixed schools.*

3. What do these parents teach children about race, creed, and nationality? The most striking finding in the survey is parental ignorance along these lines, ignorance and indifference. For instance, when parents take time to explain racial or other variations to children—which is seldom done—they deal with complex matters in a single, simple remark. "Oh, he's black," or "She's Catholic," or "They're Jewish, you know," as if the whole world lighted up! A full fifth of the parents could not, after taking due time, state any real difference between Jews and Christians. In almost every case, the outgroup characteristics named were highly stereotyped. For example, "God made people different. He wants them to stay that way."

4. Three-fourths of the white parents and half the Negro parents felt that very young children knew that people belonged to different racial and religious groups. Eighteen per cent of the whites and 45 per cent of the Negroes denied this, with the remainder being uncertain. Unless parents are aware of what children are learning about people, they cannot be expected to try to inculcate unbiased attitudes. Even with this awareness, it is impossible to predict what parents will teach. Only 38 per cent of all parents gave any indication of feeling at all responsible for what their children learned about human relations.

5. When should a child be taught about his own ingroup memberships? Thirty-seven per cent of the parents said when the child is young, *i.e.*, before he enters school. A fifth said when the child asks, and a fifth at some later year in child life. Only 13 per cent rejected the idea of ingroup teaching, saying, "We never discuss religion 'cause that starts a fight," or "Race, you can't do nothing 'bout that," or "I ain't gonna say nothin' like that to my kids."

6. What should a child be taught? Half the sample gave the vaguest sort of answers. "I told him it don't make no difference about people," or "I'd be careful around them folks," or "You'll understand when you grow up," or "I guess the church will tell you that." In the other half of the sample, ingroup attitudes and behaviors were taught as needful discriminations against outgroup members.

7. When parents were questioned on specific discriminations, their attitudes varied. Asked about the Jewish child who had been excluded from a Gentile play group, 6 per cent of the white non-Jews approved, 42 per cent slightly approved or were unclear or evasive, about 10 per cent said they did not know how to answer, and 15 per cent refused to answer. In respect to the remark attributed to a Catholic child that "Only Catholics go to heaven," 42 per cent of all parents denied this, saying that the child had been mistaught. About a third made a response which indicated the need for better intercreedal relations. "It ain't right," one mother said, "to fight about religions."

This survey is an effort to hear what parents say, feel that they must say, about bringing up children. The questions are as good as we have seen, and any student who would repeat this study on a known parent sample would make a contribution to intergroup education. The harm that such parents do to children is evident in the data, needing no emphasis here.

There is one very important finding in this study. Two-thirds of this urban sample approved unsegregated public schools where children could interact, where every child would be treated according to worth and need. That is, even though these parents are restrictive and exclusive (prejudiced) in their own life and learning, *they tend to favor democratic schools*. If this should be found true in other parent studies, then the approach we have made in this book to educational problems has been too conservative. Until such data are reported, we shall continue to urge caution, to urge a careful, planful point of view.

THE COMMUNITY SELF-SURVEY

One major point remains, a form of inservice teacher (and other) training which we have widely used. This is the community self-survey. We have no idea when this type of "action research" began, for it is very, very old. Credit for its recent improvements go to the Fisk University survey staff, and more lately to CCI surveyors.⁸ Our account of how to make this kind of community study is based in part on a very useful manual prepared by CCI members.

Making an Area Self-survey of Civil Rights⁹

Need for Facts. Were one to ask citizens in any community about the status of civil rights in that community, he would get conflicting answers. Some persons would hold one view, some another, but most informants would say frankly that they do not know.

Can minority individuals get any type of job for which they are qualified? Are they crowded into inadequate housing? Are residential areas restricted? Do these children attend the same schools, get the same quality of education, as do majority-group members? Can nonwhites patronize restaurants, attend movies, ride on public carriers, knowing

⁸ Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, a staff set up under leadership of Kurt Lewin.

⁹ Margot Hass Wormser and Claire Seltiz, *How to Conduct a Community Self-survey of Civil Rights*, Association Press, 1951.

they will get the same service as whites? Can they participate in civic activities, join social organizations, as they like?

Of course, where segregation is a matter of law, such questions are irrelevant. Equality is prohibited. Outside of these areas, the first need is to determine the true state of affairs, to find the facts. The next steps are to evaluate the data and to plan change action if that is indicated.

The Self-survey. The self-survey differs from traditional fact finding. In the latter case, experts are called in to do the work. In the self-survey, lay persons are the policy makers, the data collectors, the organizers of action. They have expert guidance, with these latter persons acting in advisory roles. One basic assumption is that knowledge, if self-obtained, is more authentic, more meaningful, than that obtained at second hand. Another assumption is that people will work better, do more, if authority and responsibility are shared with them. Third, and to a variable degree, the study makers have the power to effect changes in existing conditions, to initiate change action after the data are in.

Organizing a Study Group. What agencies and individuals are interested in an area survey? In general, the more of these the better, and the deeper their concern the greater the probability of change action. After initial inquiry along these lines, an organizational meeting is held. Other agencies are invited to join up, to share their views and values, and a formal structure is set up. While organizational patterns differ, a city of 25,000 or more will show some version of the plan outlined in Fig. 13.

Whatever the organizational structure set up, a host of problems must be solved. Some involve resources, such as funds, office space, supplies, and personnel. Other problems are technical in nature, for instance, developing study forms. Still others embrace administration, community support, and so on. It is very important that a time schedule be worked out, the charting of major work tasks on a calendar of time units such as weeks and months.

Setting up the Study. Good preplanning is basic to a study's success, and it is here that training and experience count. In preparing interview schedules, for example, lay persons are inclined to ask any question in which they happen to be interested. A better plan is to decide exactly what issues or conditions are to be investigated, the kinds and amounts of data required, the precise phrasing of questions which will get these facts. Pretesting of questions is standard procedure, as is the training of interviewers.

Sampling is the point where many studies go wrong. What sampling means is, first, compiling complete lists of a universe, for instance, all industrial plants in the community, all real-estate agents, all minority-group members, and so on. The next step is to determine the number of cases needed, this number depending in part on the accuracy wanted in

survey findings. If, to illustrate, one wants to be 90 per cent certain that conclusions will not vary more than 10 per cent from actual life conditions, the minimum number of cases will be less than at high levels of confidence.¹⁰

Selecting the cases to be included in the final step. If one case out of each 50 units in a universe is wanted, numbered slips from 1 to 50 can be put in a hat. If No. 19 is drawn, the next case from the population would be No. 69, the next No. 119, and so on. Usually an alternate case

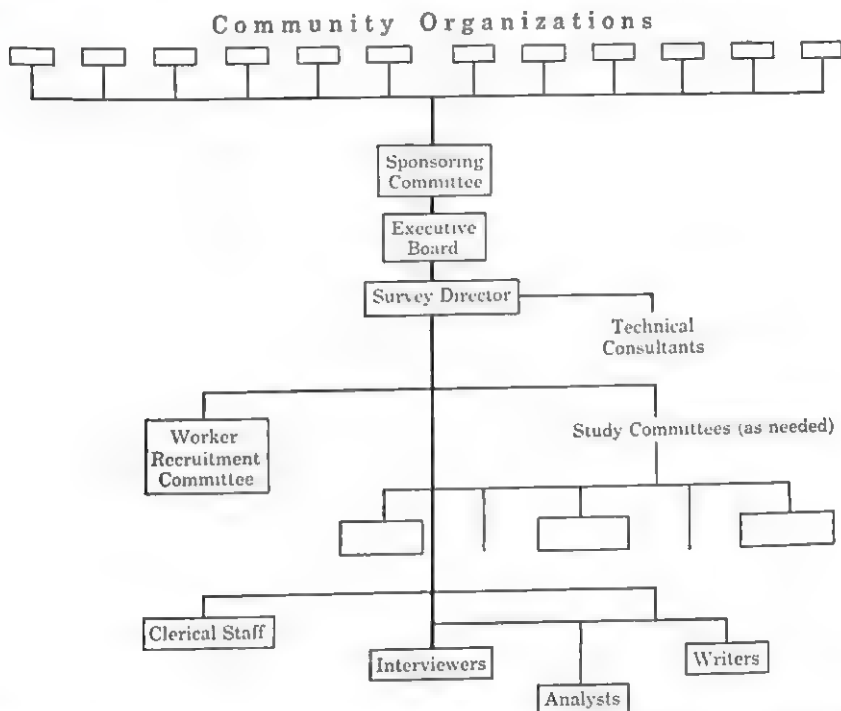


FIG. 13. Organizational chart, community self-survey. (Based in part on Margot Hass Wormser and Claire Selltitz, *How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights*, p. 77, Association Press, 1951.)

(say, No. 18, No. 68, etc.) is also pulled on assumption that the original case cannot be located for interview or must otherwise be ruled out.

Data Gathering and Processing. An interviewer's job is to get the information called for in his prepared schedule. He must locate respondents, explain enough of his work to secure their assistance. He must ask questions in the order and wording in which they appear on his form, then write down replies. These replies must be accurate, complete, and clear.

¹⁰ The Wormser-Selltiz table of numbers, given on p. 195 in their manual is derived from S. S. Wilks, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences between Percentages," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 4: 332-338, 1940.

While this sounds very routine, it seldom is. A respondent may not understand a question, or may seek to evade it, or may wander off into irrelevancies. An interviewer must keep him on the track, hold him to the point. Each question must make sense to the interviewee, though an honest "don't know" or "don't care" answer is a valid answer and should be so recorded.

After schedules are filled in, data processing is begun. For simple percentage findings, anyone accustomed to working with figures can help in setting up table forms, running counts, determining averages and ranges, making checks on results. If more refined analysis is required, persons with statistical training must be found. Sorting, labeling, coding, scoring, etc., are discussed in the Wormer-Selltiz manual, along with special analytical schemes.

Preparing the Final Report. Assuming that analysis is done, the final task is to organize and write an over-all report. In civil-rights surveys, the body of the report usually centers on whether minorities receive the same treatment as do members of the majority group. While the aim of writing is to communicate, its form, length, and so on, will vary with the audience addressed. The first audience in an area self-survey is, of course, the sponsoring organizations.

The first step in reporting is to study major findings, deciding which ones should be given prominence, how points are to be fitted together, where tables are useful, and what concrete illustrations should be included. This is best done via an over-all outline, broken down into at least two sublevels. If art work is to be used and its use is recommended, data for graphs, charts, etc., should be given over to persons who can make the drawings. Opinion should be kept out of factual presentations or else labeled for what it is. After a report is prepared, it is turned over to typists for mimeographing. The number of copies to be run off and their distribution is a matter for executive committee decision.

The Follow-up Program. Do survey findings point the need for change? If so, what changes are needed and how are they to be brought about? The process of absorbing study findings and deciding what activities (if any) are to be undertaken will take time. It can be speeded up somewhat and made more efficient if the executive committee will formulate the questions which it believes the sponsoring organizations should discuss. The importance of this point is very great. We have seen year-long surveys come to nothing because agencies got too involved in specific issues and details. With every agency running off in every direction, bickering and inaction were the result.

On assumption that change action is needed, what agencies are interested? How should action be planned? What division of labor should be worked out? What publicity should be arranged for? In sum, the study

group faces a new problem, that of an *action program*, and a regrouping of forces may be called for. The old survey group may be disbanded or else enlarged and reconstituted. Activities should be debated and agreed upon, and a definite time schedule established.

Change efforts may be directed toward civic attitudes or civic practices, preferably the latter on assumption that changes in actions are, in general, easier to effect. Mass-media publicity may have some impact on attitudes, but it is too much to expect that it will change discriminatory practices. It is essential that specific action be taken, for example, that invitational discussions be held with the merchants of the community. In general, priorities must be set up, this campaign and then that, these first steps and those to follow. The best beginning is not necessarily where need is greatest, but rather where the chances of success look best to people who know the town.

It is the action phase of area surveying, rather than the fact-finding, which causes most trouble. For one thing, change techniques are not well defined, not known by means of experimental test and logic, as are study techniques. Any experienced person can point to cases where study making went without a serious hitch, as slick as could be expected considering the task of educating lay persons which is implied. But when it came to moving against discrimination, to getting something done about it, sponsoring agencies fell to bickering among themselves or else antichange forces were too strong. Little came out of the total work effort except the impression that significant changes could not be made.

When schoolteachers take part in area study-action programs, what do they learn? While we can recall a number of such projects, we have never made a formal study of learning outcomes. Our guesses here are three. First, repeated contact with civil-rights spokesmen, lay citizens, etc., plus firsthand observation of area conditions mean that teacher knowledge is increased. A teacher comes to know the community better, to appreciate its differences. Second, any kind of serious study means that one's study skills are developed; in truth, there is no way except by work to learn basic research techniques.

Third, most persons who work on area surveys grow less certain about their own presuppositions, less sure, too, about the dogmatism of others. They come to realize that good doing is hard to do, that ideas should be put to test.

WAYS OF MAKING GROUP DISCUSSION WORK

Since so many area surveys break down at the end, *i.e.*, in the change-action phase, it is commonsense to try to prevent this. Our work here can and should be improved. Here are some rules we have found of use.

Improving Interagency Discussion

1. Do not assume that controversy is bad, that things have gone to pot because people quarrel. A nontalkative group is a greater danger. Out of conflict, a strong action program can emerge.
2. Focus on the problem, not the fight. Some persons will see the problem, sense its significance. Others see it but want nothing done about it, no corrective change. Still others will have different solutions, proposals differing in both ends and means.
3. Try to keep an agenda, a rank order of items for discussion. Confusion is inevitable if people talk about everything at once, jump from this to that. Plan with leaders ahead of time what logic is to be followed, which items rest upon which other items for their solution.
4. Hunt for common grounds in the initial stages of a conflict, details which can be agreed upon even though they may not be of crucial importance. Don't be glib in stating any other person's point of view; encourage him to speak for himself.
5. Move from apparent common grounds into real differences of views and values, assuming they exist. Help sides think through assumptions, past experiences, desiderata, and so on. Use all the brains you have to cut through flimsy pretexts, yet always be considerate of personal feelings.
6. A lot of things happen, and happen fast, when people get tired and fatigue sets in. One thing is that, in most deadlocked groups, moderates begin to pull the ends (conservatives, radicals) toward the middle. If you are watchful for this process, you can assist it if you wish.
7. Be realistic about proposed courses of action, *i.e.*, things to do to end discrimination. Consider both their practical aspects—time, cost, personnel—and their theoretical aspects, for example, possible concomitant and unwanted effects, the idea being that values cost values. Final decision is often a moral issue, namely: Are changes worth what we must pay for them?
8. Keep your weight off the final solution. A group-action program belongs to the group, not to you as an adviser or participant. Do not vote the group, thus creating winners and losers, if there is any other way to settle differences. Go with the group in its decisions if they are

reached democratically, unless some principle you hold is negated. At this point, try to influence the group. If you fail in this, do not preach or scold. Resign.

9. Do your preplanning in light of these points, yet remember that any plan gets mixed up in actual operations. Teach the group to expect this, to assess its own activities, to take setbacks in good grace. Remember that adaptability is a great virtue, along with steadfastness in respect to basic goals. A purposeful group can lose many hands and still win the game.

In conclusion, let us admit for the final time the little that is known in any scientific sense about this kind of group work. In our experience, group workers who get the best results may not know why, and those who do know why may not be able to formulate their views. Still others are unwilling to communicate what they know, fearing that this will decrease their effectiveness as leaders. We can think of no kind of fact finding, no type of study making, that would contribute more to intergroup education than would experimental work at this point. The problem of problems is *how to win group acceptance for an idea, a course of action*. Risks being what they are, our concluding word can only be: *En garde, et bonne chance!*

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Do you plan to do any more work in the field of intergroup education? If you were free to do what you want to do, what would you do?

2. Some students say that they learn more in a summer workshop than in summer courses. If you could choose, what would your preference be? Why?

3. What functions are performed by centers of human relations? Why has the center idea not spread more rapidly than it has?

4. What is meant by "reversal of teacher role"? Why or why not, in theory, should this be an effective experimental technique? Would you as a teacher care to do something like this for yourself and note its effects?

5. If time permits, use the questions from the Philadelphia Study and interview a sample of parents. Could you do this as a project in some other course you plan to take?

6. Have you ever taken part in a community survey? If so, tell about it. What came of it? What did you learn?

7. Do our suggestions for making group discussion work strike you as any good? Criticize them and add to them ideas of your own.

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Index

A

- Aberle, David F., 154
 Academic education, and behavioral changes, 217-221
 cases in, 206-214
 course emphases in, 216-217
 definition of, 211-212
 improvements in, 222-227
 Acculturation, of children, 58-59, 129
 of youth, 81-83, 100-105
 Adams, James Truslow, 185
 Adjustment problems of foreign students, 329-330
 Adorno, T. W., 92
 Allport, Gordon, 85, 162, 169, 243-244
 Almond, Gabriel A., 307
 American Council on Education, 87
 American Indians, 25-26
 "Amos 'n' Andy and Free Speech," 299-300, 303
 Angell, Robert C., 10
 Anglo-Mexican relations, 76-77
 Antiminority remarks, 293-294
 Anti-Semitism, 32-33
 Area surveys, 260-264
 (*See also* Community study)
 Area trips, 258-260
 Assimilation, of immigrants, 29-30
 triple-melting-pot theory, 132-133
 (*See also* Acculturation)
 Attitude testing, 226-227
 Attitudes (*see* Student attitudes)
 Audio-visual education (*see* Vicarious experience)
 Axline, Virginia M., 230-243

B

- Bain, Read, 162-163, 350
 Baldwin, Roger N., 187
 Barrows, Milton L., 296
 Baum, Philip, 299-300, 303
 Bernard, W. S., 27*n.*, 333*n.*
 Biddle, Francis, 165*n.*, 356
 Bierstedt, Robert, 155
 Bigelow, Karl W., 330-331
 "Biggott" cartoons, 170-171
 Biracial segregation, 346, 358
 Blumer, Herbert, 227*n.*
 Boas, Franz, 217
 Bogardus social-distance surveys, 94-96
 Borreson, B. J., 240-243
 Bourne, Ernest J., 325
 Brameld, Theodore, 190-191
 Brookover, Wilbur B., 261-264
 "Bulldogs and Red Devils," 125-128

C

- Campbell, Don, 99-100
 Campus opinion polls, 93-94
 Canada, 321-322
 Cantor, Nathaniel, 245
 Cartwright, Dorwin, 175, 244, 247
 Case, Harold C., 3
 Case studies, in academic education, 206-214
 of children, 46-48
 in community education, 249-264
 in group-process teaching, 230-243
 in human rights, 191-195
 in teacher-leader role, 340-346

- Case studies, in vicarious experience,
277-291
of youth, 62-80, 88-98, 100-104
- Caste and class, 137-140, 144-145
- "Casting a Senior Class Play," 285-287
- Catholics, 19, 34
and intergroup relations, 52-57,
62-65, 70-76, 88-91
and Protestants, 33-37
and public education, 36-37
- Censorship, and human relations, 303
and minorities, 298-304
- Centers of human relations, 365-366
- Change action, behavioral effects, 217-
221
education as, 10-11, 161
failure and success, 180-181
problems of, 162-163
- Character ratings, 66-67, 318-321
- Child, Irwin L., 78
- Children, acculturation of, 58-59, 129
and attitude changes, 369-371
case studies of, 46-58
learning of prejudices, 59-60
and social class, 65-70
what to teach, 122-124
- Chinese Americans, 30
- Churches in United States, 33-34
- Citizen education, 209
- Citron, Abraham F., 293
- Clark, K. B., 51-52
- Clark, M. P., 51-52
- Clinchy, Everett R., 365*n.*
- Coakley, Father Thomas F., 130
- Coleman, Lee, 320
- College, discrimination in admissions,
85-87
faculty views, 99-100
leadership role, 15-16
use of fiction in courses, 287-291
- College students, attitudes, 93-94,
96-97, 99, 102-103, 130
knowledge, 97-99
- College Study in Intergroup Relations,
14, 96, 163-164, 180-182, 212, 234,
293, 340
- Communication, 291-292, 327
- Community education, cases in, 249-
264
and cooperation and conflict, 270-274
nature of, 264-265
- Community integration, 149-150
lag and disunity, 151-152
primary-group type, 150
as value sharing, 152-154
- Community resource agencies, 203
- Community study, 209
as self-survey, 377-381
- Conflict, 18*ff.*, 270-274
- Contact and acquaintance, 168-169
- Control culture, 60
- Cook, Lloyd Allen, 12*n.*, 76*n.*, 96*n.*,
153*n.*, 175*n.*, 180, 198, 207, 236-
237, 270, 340, 365
- Cooley, Charles H., 121
- Cooperation, 150
by agreement, 153
and coercion, 153
and conflict, 270-274
and consensus, 152
and world unity, 314*ff.*
- "Cornerville" study, 174
- Cottrell, Leonard S., 121
- Counts, George S., 321*n.*
- Course emphasis, in school problems in
human relations, 366-369
types of, 216-217
- Cousins, Norman, 314*n.*, 315-317
- Cox, Oliver C., 352-356
- D
- "Dance Hall Bouncer," 177-180
- Darwin, Charles, 271, 274
- Declarations of human rights, 186-189
- Democracy, 198-200
(*See also* Human rights; Values)
- Democratic problem solving, 242
- Detroit opinion poll, 260-261
- Dewey, John, 189, 205, 265
- Discrimination, in college admissions,
85-87
and prejudice, 45-46, 338
and U.S. Supreme Court, 86*n.*, 165

Disunity and social change, 150-151
 Dollard, John, 245-246, 297
 Douglass, Frederick, 356
 Dramatization, 280, 292
 (See also Sociodrama)
 Durkheim, Emile, 152

E

Economic adjustments, plan of study, 209-211
 Education, academic (see Academic education)
 as change action, 10-11, 161
 community (see Community education)
 in human relations, 164
 intergroup (see Intergroup education)
 and religions, 265-270
 as right, 188
 scholastic, 213-214
 and teaching methods, 162-164
 (See also Vicarious experience)
 Eells, Kenneth, 224-225, 228
 Ethnic distance in United States, 95-96
 Ethnic IQ, 222
 and IQ testing, 222-225
 Ethnocentric index, 71
 Exchange-of-persons program, 330-331
 Extraclass issues in intergroup relations, 286-287

F

FEPC, 14, 165-167
 Feller, A. H., 308, 311-314
Festa, 173-174
 "Flow-of-life" idea, 255-256
 Foreign students in United States, 317, 326-330
 adjustment problems, 329-330
 and exchange-of-persons program, 330
 Forster, Arnold, 87, 93
 "Fourth Grade Health Lesson," 252-254
 Fraternities, restrictive membership, 240-243

Freedom, 37-38, 314
 Fulbright Act, 326, 330

G

Georgia Town, 137-140
 Glick, Clarence E., 346
 Goff, Regina Mary, 46-48
 Gomberg, William, 197
 Good will, 162
 Goodenough, Florence L., 82
 Goodman, Mary Ellen, 57, 61
 Greek student adjustments, 100-102
 Green, Graham, 288-289
 Group leadership (see Teacher-leader role)
 Group-process teaching, 182
 cases in, 230-243
 definition of, 243-244
 principles of, 244-245, 382-383
 and teacher-leader types, 245-247, 346-348
 Groups, cleavages, 7-8
 ingroup and outgroup, 9, 289
 majority and minority, 8-10
 Gruesser, Sister Mary Jeanine, 63
 Guidance and therapy, 183

H

Hager, Don, 6
 Hart, J. K., 265
 Hartley, E. L., 129, 171
 Hatt, Paul K., 97, 143
 Highet, Gilbert, 211
 Hill, Mozell C., 137
 Hobson, Laura, 271, 281-282
 Holland, John B., 261-264
 Hollingshead, A. B., 69, 131-132, 142
 Holmes, John Haynes, 300-303
 Holy Name Society, 172
 Homans, George, 124n., 151-152
 Human relations, 6, 185
 and censorship, 303
 centers of, 365-366
 consistency-inconsistency, 226
 education in, 164

- Human relations, improvement in, 181, 200-201
 science of, 161
 Human rights, case studies in, 191-195
 declarations of, 186-189
 as extensions of democracy, 198-200
 and related concepts, 189-191, 195-196
 Humor in intergroup relations, 296-298
 Hunter, Floyd, 157

I

- "I Take Spanish Lessons," 250-251
 Immigrants, assimilation, 29-30
 European, 26-30
 and intergroup relations, 70-76, 78-80, 100-102
 quota system, 27, 331-333
 Immigration into United States, 28
 Improvement in human relations, 181, 200-201
 Ingroup and outgroup, 44-45, 124-128, 142, 148-149
 Inservice teacher education, as experimental teacher retraining, 369-372
 school-problem courses in, 366-369
 Integration (*see* Community integration)
 IQ tests and testing, 221-225
 Intent, 292
 Intergroup education, criticisms of, 6
 definitions, 3, 7-8, 306, 381
 general bibliography, 17
 goals in, 14-15
 schematic frame of reference, 338
 Intergroup relations, in American history, 18*ff.*
 Catholics and, 52-57, 62-65, 70-76, 88-91
 college courses in, 212-213
 College Study in, 14, 96, 163-164, 180-182, 212, 234, 293, 340
 current fiction on, 39, 304-305
 extraclass issues in, 286-287
 humor in, 296-298

- Intergroup relations, immigrants and, 70-76, 78-80, 100-102
 incidents in, 4-5
 and intragroup relations, 8
 resource agencies, 203
 in Seattle high schools, 70-76
 workshops in, 175-176, 360-365
 and world unity, 306*ff.*
 (*See also* Jewish Americans; Negro Americans)

- Intermarriage, 130-134
 International relations, 7, 306*ff.*
 Israel, struggle for, 117
 and United States, 118, 119
 Italian-Americans, 78-80

J

- James, William, 121, 122, 205
 Japanese in United States, 30-32
 West Coast evacuation, 31
 Jefferson, Thomas, 185, 197
 Jewish Americans, 19, 44
 intergroup relations, 32-33, 52-57, 62-65, 70-76, 88-91, 93-94, 108-119
 Jonesville (Elmtown, Hometown), 65-70, 142-143
 "June," play therapy, 230-243
 Justice, freedom, and unity, 37-38

K

- Kane, John J., 35
 Kelley, Earl C., 364*n.*
 Kennan, George F., 308
 Kiell, Norman, 329-330
 Klineberg, Otto, 222, 319-320
 KVSJ complex (knowledge, values, skills, judgment), 15, 182, 340
 Konzono, S., 328-329
 Kornhauser, Arthur, 60, 197, 260-261

L

- Landis, Benson Y., 33, 34
 Landis, Judson T., 130-131

LaPiere, Richard, 226
 Lasker, Bruno, 43
 Lasswell, Harold D., 136, 155
 Learning, as experience, 264, 276ff.
 as self-willed act, 164
 theories of, 60
 Lee, A. M., 24n.
 Legislation as change method, 164-167
 Leibert, Julius A., 130
 Lerner, Max, 119, 186
 Levin, Myer, autobiography, 108-119
 Lewin, Kurt, 123, 235
 Lindeman, Eduard C., 198-199
 Lippitt, Ronald, 361-364
 Lundberg, George A., 349n., 357
 Lynd, Robert S., 350

M

McCarran Act, 332-333
 McGuffey readers, 215
 McGuire, Carson, 145
 MacIver, R. M., 8, 18-19
 Majority and minority groups, 8-10,
 18ff., 104-105
 Manis, J. G., 212
 Marginal man, concept of, 119-120
 and primary belongingness, 123
 Marginal news, 282-284
 Mass media, 169-171, 292-293, 299
 and prejudice, 303
 Mead, Margaret, 43
 Methods (*see* Teaching methods)
 Mexicans, 19
 and Anglos, 23-25, 76-77
 Miller, Herbert A., 222n.
 Miller, Neal, 60, 245-246
 Milne, A. A., 62
 Minard, Ralph D., 57
 Montagu, Ashley, 271
 Moral principles, 11-12, 188, 349, 351,
 356
 (*See also* Human rights; Values)
 Morgenthau, Hans J., 308-310
 Mosier, Richard, 215
 Movies, neighborhood, 281-282
 school uses of, 292-293

Myerson, Abraham, 276
 Myrdal, Gunnar, 49n., 137, 187, 297n.,
 350, 356

N

National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA) resolutions, 188-189
 National character, 318-321
 National Conference of Christians and Jews, 173
 National interest, 306-315
 National-origins principle, 7, 27, 332
 National Training Laboratory in Group Development, 361n., 364
 Negro Americans, 18-22, 88-91
 adjustment to caste, 22, 137-140
 intergroup relations, 47-48, 52-57,
 70-76
 skin-color values, 50-52
 and U.S. Supreme Court decisions,
 165
 as workers, 21
 Neugarten, Bernice L., 65
 New York University Center for Human Relations Studies, 365-366
 Newcomb's "Bennington research," 103
 News, 282-284
 Nixon, H. C., 151
 Northrop, F. S. C., 339n.

O

Office of Strategic Services, 176
 Ojike, 326-327
 Old World heritages, 29, 78-79

P

Parents and child rearing, 122-124,
 372-377
 Park, Robert E., 120, 287, 292
 Participant-observer, 261-264
 Pekelis, Alexander H., 33

- Personality testing, 225
 Pfautz, Howard W., 142, 144
 Philadelphia early childhood study,
 52-57, 129
 "Picturesque Textbook, A," 206-208
 Power, concept of, 154-155
 differentials in, 9
 sharing of, 197
 uses of, 155-156
 Prairie Town, 146-150
 Prejudice, among adolescents, 62-83
 in childhood, 43-60
 in college admissions, 85-87
 and discrimination, 12, 45-46, 338
 learning of, 59-60
 and mass media, 303
 reductions of, 181-182
 and religion, 90-93
 and Supreme Court decisions, 86*n*.
 theories of, 44-46
 Projection, 171, 278, 291
 Propaganda, 169-171, 292-293, 299
 Protestants and Catholics, 33-37
 Public ceremonials, 171-175
 Pupil transfer case, 254-255
- Q
- Quota system, 27, 331-333
- R
- Race, 7
 Redden-Ryan textbook, 214
 Redfield, Robert, 16
 Reeves, Floyd W., 86
 Religions, 7, 8, 33
 and prejudice, 90-93
 teaching about, 265-270
 Riesman, David, 44
 Rights and responsibilities, 121, 186*ff*.
 (See also Human rights; Values)
 Role (see Social role; Teacher-leader
 role)
 Rose, Arnold, 19, 181
 Rose, Caroline, 19, 181
 Rugg, Harold, 186
 Russell, Bertrand, 45, 136
- S
- Sanchez, George A., 23
 Santayana, George, 18
 Sargent, S. S., 224
 Scholastic education, 213-214
 School cafeteria case, 236-238
 Schooling, 180-182
 and human-rights orientation, 185-
 203
 Science, 221
 of human relations, 161
 and values, 349-351, 357
 Second-generation problems, 77-80
 Seeman, Melvin, 50
 Segregation, biracial, 346, 358
 Selltitz, Claire, 377-381
 Sherif, Musafer, 51, 125-128
 Shock therapy, 345-346
 Simmel, Georg, 150
 Sims, Verner, 102-103
 Sing Shengs and democracy, 256-257
 Situational testing, 176-177
 Skin-color values, 50-52
 Smiley, Marjorie B., 215*n*.
 Smittle, Ray, 328*n*.
 Social change, and disunity, 150-151
 and community disorganization,
 151-152
 Social classes, 8, 65-70, 132
 and caste, 137-142
 as modes of life, 145-150
 and school learnings, 65-70, 223-225
 Social-distance surveys, Bogardus, 94-
 96
 Social mobility, 69, 145
 Social role, ascribed and achieved,
 58-59
 in groups, 122
 reversal of, 372
 and rights and duties, 58-59
 and status, 121
 Social self, 121-123
 Social status, 9, 107

Social status, contrasts, 146-150
 and role, 121
 Social tension, 10
 Society, theories of, 136-141, 304
 Sociodrama, 12-13, 234-235, 279-280,
 368-369
 Spanish-speaking people, 23
 Stern vs. White on Boas, 217-221
 Stoddard, George D., 222, 223
 Stokes, Anson Phelps, 34, 37
 Stonequist, E. V., 120*n.*, 122
 Straus, Donald B., 272
 Student attitudes, changes in, 102-103,
 180-182
 college, 93-94, 96-97, 99, 102-103,
 130
 and intercollege visits, 168-169
 Sumner, William Graham, 124
 Sutton, Horace, 258-260

T

Taba, Hilda, publications, 214, 228
 Taft-Hartley injunctions, 272-273
 Teach-as-you-please plan, 216-217
 Teacher-leader role, 12-13, 133, 185,
 191, 202, 224, 246-247, 265, 304,
 314, 340, 372
 case studies in, 340-346
 and types of leaders, 346-348, 351-
 356
 Teaching methods, experimental de-
 sign, 163, 181
 and schooling, 180-182
 (See also Academic education; Com-
 munity education; Group-pro-
 cess teaching; Vicarious experi-
 ence)
 Tension, social, 10
 Testing, IQ, 221-225
 personality, 225
 Tettemer, John, 213-214
 Textbooks, school and college, 206-208,
 214-215
 Thayer, V. T., 269-270
 Therapy, group, 230-243
 and guidance, 183

Therapy, individual, 182-183
 shock, 345-346
 Thomas, John L., 132
 Thurstone, L. L., 222-223
 Trager, Helen, 53, 369-377
 Triple-melting-pot theory in assimila-
 tion, 132-133
 Truman Committee Report, 186-187,
 208-209

U

Unity, freedom, and justice, 37-38
 in local community, 153-154
 United Nations, 307, 311, 314, 320
 and UNESCO, 322-324
 United States population, 19
 U.S. Supreme Court decisions, 86*n.*,
 165, 303
 Universal Declaration of Human
 Rights, 187-188
 Useem, John, 146-150

V

Values, and science, 349-351, 357
 sharing of, 152-154, 292, 314, 320
 skin-color, 50-52
 and social heritage, 223
 wants and, 190-191
 Vicarious experience, cases in, 277-291
 definition of, 291-292

W

Wallas, Graham, 264
 Wants and values, 190-191
 Warner, W. L., 49*n.*, 65*n.*, 137, 140-145
 Washington, Booker T., 352-356
 Watson, Goodwin, 163*n.*
 Whipple, Leon, 273
 White, Walter, 257
 Whitehead, Alfred North, 264
 Whyte, William F., 173-174
 Williams, Robin, 320
 Wilson, Howard, 214-215
 Wirth, Louis, 10-11, 249

Work experience, 175-180
Workshops in intergroup relations,
175-176, 360-365
World understanding and unity, as
educational goal, 306
and national interest, 306-315
questions about, 315-317
school activities in, 321-322
Wormser, Margot Hass, 377-381

Y

Yarrow, Marion Radke, 53, 369-372,
373-377
Young, Kimball, 357
Youth, acculturation, 81-83, 100-105
case studies of, 62-80, 88-98, 100-
104
Youth surveys, 80-81

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